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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The James Sprunt Historical Publications

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

The North Carolina Historical Society

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON } *Editors*
HENRY MCGILBERT WAGSTAFF }

VOL. 10

NO. 2



CONTENTS

Bartlett Yancey

The Political and Professional Career of Bartlett Yancey

Letters to Bartlett Yancey

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
1911



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PREFATORY NOTE.

In this issue of the Sprunt Publications appears a contribution from Superintendent George A. Anderson of Caswell county which will be of interest to all students of North Carolina biography. Of few of the distinguished men of the State has so little been known as of Bartlett Yancey. Mr. Anderson has for a number of years been industriously collecting material bearing upon Yancey's private life and has kindly consented to allow the editors to use his manuscript. A short sketch of Yancey's political career, by one of the editors, follows, serving as an introduction to the hitherto unpublished letters which make up the rest of the volume. The letters are from the collections of the North Carolina Historical Society and have a double value in that they are illustrative of the regard in which he was held by his contemporaries, and also contain much material of interest concerning the State and National politics of the period.

BARTLETT YANCEY.

BY GEORGE A. ANDERSON,
Superintendent of Schools,
Caswell County, N. C.

BARTLETT YANCEY.

John H. Wheeler, in his History of North Carolina, makes this statement: "Few counties can present citizens whose services are entitled to more respect, and whose devotion to the welfare of the State was more sincere than Caswell." This was written at a time when Caswell county was rich in great men, and there can be no doubt that the greatest of them up to that period was Bartlett Yancey.

Yancey's public career extends over a large part of the history of the State and Nation and in this sketch it is not proposed to touch upon that phase of his life other than in an incidental way, but to write of that side of his life of which little has been given out to the world. It is to be regretted that but little of Yancey's career in early life, his untiring struggle against circumstances and poverty, is known to the student of history. The story of it all would read like a romance and would be a splendid demonstration of the fact that perseverance and well-developed intellect and character will surely lead their possessor, round by round, up the ladder of fame.

Bartlett Yancey, on his paternal side, was of Welsh extraction. An early ancestor was an Episcopal minister, ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Three of his sons, Louis, Henry, and Richard, emigrated from England to America, but when is not known to the family. Henry and Richard Yancey settled in Virginia and became citizens of usefulness and influence. Louis Yancey located in Granville county, North Carolina and his son, Bartlett Yancey, Sr., moved to Caswell, then a part of Orange Orange county, about 1760, and there married Miss Nancy Graves who was in every respect an exceptional woman. She was not only of great beauty of person, but was also possessed of a fine character of great strength and was consequently destined to influence in a marked degree the character and destinies of her children.

From this union came Bartlett Yancey, Jr., who was born on February 19th, 1785 at the old Yancey homestead, six miles south of the county seat, now called in his honor, Yanceyville. In this connection, it will doubtless be of interest to state that the father of Bartlett Yancey was a semi-invalid, unable to do manual labor, who managed to eke out a modest living for his growing family by teaching a country school. There is a story of this old patriot and his wife which strikingly illustrates the indomitable spirit of the Yanceys. When he heard the noise of the cannon at the battle of Guilford Court house, his patriotic fervor impelled him to order his servant to put him on a horse, and with sword and crutches he made ready for a journey to the scene of the battle. His wife, realizing his utter physical unfitness for such a strenuous undertaking, caught hold of the bridle and held the horse until she convinced her husband that he could do no good by going and possibly would imperil his life uselessly.

Bartlett Yancey, Jr., was a posthumous child, his father having died in the October preceding his birth in February 1785. Mrs. Yancey was left widowed with nine children, Bartlett being the tenth. The State owes much to this good woman who by her thrift and patient industry reared and trained this large family into useful citizenship. Bartlett, the baby, was the pride of the home. He was of a clinging and affectionate disposition and when the climax of his childhood was reached and it was decided that he must enter the neighborhood school some distance from his home, the little fellow rebelled against the idea, but at length yielded to the wishes of his sisters. That first day at school marked an epoch in his life and the whole course of his being was changed by the day's experience which filled his childish heart with the very acme of delight and no doubt was the beginning of the creation of those mighty ideals, which in after life made him the father of the public school system of North Carolina, and of the development of an intellectual genius which added a name to North Carolina's list of immortals.

In those days, educational advantages were of the most limited nature, and besides the Yancey family was compelled to fight the stubborn "battle for bread." Through the long summer months

Bartlett Yancey toiled with all his childish strength upon his mother's farm, doing his part in providing for the family's needs and in winter, with uncomplaining patience and steady resolve, he trudged, a shambling little figure, over the "old red hills of Caswell" to the humble log school house, learning there the lessons of duty and honor and truth. At the age of fifteen he had outstripped his teacher in knowledge and we next find him, at his neighbors' request, teaching the school himself. He taught for a year, carefully saving every possible penny of his meagre salary, and this enabled him to attend school another year. Mr. Shaw, who was principal of the Academy at the county-seat, being impressed with the manly and intelligent bearing of young Yancey, tendered him the position of assistant teacher which was cheerfully accepted and this arrangement was continued for two years. Yancey, in the meantime, was diligently studying Latin and Mathematics under the tutorship of Mr. Shaw. The latter then resigned his position as head of the school and the assistant was elected in his stead with a salary fixed at \$200 per year. He filled the position with marked success for two years, practicing all the while the most rigid economy. It was the dream and determination of his life to enter the University of North Carolina, and this resolve caused him to make every possible sacrifice of personal comfort in order that he might husband the meagre resources which would enable him to consummate the absorbing ambition of his life. In carrying out this resolve, he met with his first great cross; his mother interposed the most violent opposition. It is a matter of well founded tradition that between his mother and himself there existed a most beautiful affection, and in after years, when Yancey had become a man of wealth and power, his old mother found in the heart and home of her son a place of honor and repose and in the sacred precincts of his home this Roman Cornelia of Caswell county gave out her expiring breath and passed to her reward.

Her words on the occasion when he expressed his intention to attend the University have fortunately been preserved. She said, "Bartlett you must not go there! I have never known a young man to enter that institution who was ever of any account

afterwards." Yancey was unshaken in his purpose and replied, "Mother, it pains me more than I can say to disobey you, but I feel it best for me to go and I am going." She then told him, if you must go, you will have to walk and carry your saddle bags on your back for you shall not ride one of my horses." His only reply was the simple words, "Mother, I can do it." His brother-in-law, John Graves, overheard the conversation and kindly offered the loan of a horse, and accompanied him to Chapel Hill in order to bring it back.

His first year at the University was a revelation and no boy was ever more studious and no student ever made greater or more persistent application to his studies. He walked home* at vacation time, carrying his saddle bags on his shoulders and the summer found him actively engaged in the accustomed work of his mother's farm. When the fall term opened, his mother again interposed her objections, but in despite of these, he went back and his second year's work at the University disclosed in a marked degree a rare intellectual development. During this period, he became acquainted with Judge Archibald D. Murphey and arranged to take up the study of law under his tutorship. Here again Yancey met with opposition from his mother, for she held the profession of law in great detestation and in attempting to dissuade him from his purpose, said, "Why Bartlett, lawyers are the greatest rascals on earth and surely you do not intend to become one of them." But when she realized that her son felt truly that his life work lay in this direction, she consented to it and advised him with all the womanly wisdom of her maternal heart. He had a loyal and unfailing friend in his older brother, James Yancey who loaned him the necessary money to equip himself for his chosen profession. He went to Judge Murphey's home and took up his legal studies with the same persistent diligence which he had displayed at the University. He procured his license and "hung out his shingle" at the county seat.

Before he actually began the practice of law, the greatest event of his life, as he often expressed it, occurred. He won the love

*The distance is approximately forty miles.—EDITOR.

of one of the most beautiful women of Caswell, his first cousin, Miss Nancy Graves and they were married on December 8, 1808. Miss Graves was a finished product of the most aristocratic life of Caswell and at a time when Caswell was one of the most aristocratic of counties. Her portrait has been carefully preserved and in the queenly beauty of her face—the rare beauty of the old fashioned days of Southern womanhood—is seen the reflex of that wonderful beauty of heart and intellect which helped her to shape the destiny of her husband and give him his place in North Carolina history. They began their married life in a humble little log cabin, but it was happier than a palace.

Yancey's first attendance in court as a lawyer was in Rockingham county and the court proved to be a briefless one. He left home Monday morning and returned Wednesday; he was compelled to return that early for the reason that he was unable to secure clients and had paid out his last penny for hotel accommodations. The following week the Person county court was in session and he remained there the entire term. When he got back on Saturday night, he quietly entered his humble home and threw a roll of bills into his wife's lap, saying,, "Nancy I have been quite successful this week." This was the beginning of his fortune. His popularity increased with great rapidity; his rare legal attainments, his unfailing common sense and his convincing eloquence made him everywhere in demand as an advocate. He was soon able to repay all of his indebtedness and build for himself and his family a model sweet old-fashioned country home. A volume could be written about this home and the unstinted hospitality there dispensed. It was the social center of the aristocratic life of Caswell and some of the greatest men of the State and nation often visited there as honored guests. Mrs. Yancey ruled there like a queen, and with becoming modesty and grace, ministered to the wants of the poor and needy while entertaining the rich and the great. Yancey's most intimate personal friend was the great Nathaniel Macon, the last of the Romans, and in that country home they studied together the far-reaching economic problems of the nation.

Yancey possessed a rare eloquence and almost marvellous personal magnetism. Quinten Anderson, who was his associate in the General Assembly of North Carolina, in speaking of this eloquence, declared "It was as sweet as that music which was wafted from the lyre of Orpheus as floated down the Hebrus to the sea." He possessed in a high degree that rare power of holding the friendship of men and this quality is forcibly illustrated by the following incident. On one occasion, an opponent of his uttered some derogatory remarks concerning him in the presence and at the home of Mr. Littleton Gwynn. Mr. Gwynn calmly but firmly then said, "you must desist, sir. I have never violated the rules of hospitality, but the unsullied name of Bartlett Yancey shall not be disparaged under my roof tree."

Yancey was elected to Congress in 1813 and served four years. It is an interesting fact that his opponent in this election was his old teacher, Judge Murphey. After the election Judge Murphey wrote him a most courteous letter of congratulation in which he said: "I did not think when I was teaching you law that I was cutting a stick to break my own head." Yancey's popularity in this county was wonderful and in this election he received every vote cast in Caswell but three and these three men were tarred, feathered and burnt in effigy. He served four years in Congress and then declined a re-election for the reason that his growing family and personal affairs required his presence at home. His record in Congress is a matter of history and is so well known that it is heedless to touch upon it in this personal sketch. However, it will not be out of place to state that a most intimate political and personal friendship existed between him and John Quincy Adams, later president of the United States, Nathaniel Macon, and Henry Clay. While the latter was Speaker of the House of Representatives, he is said to have often called Yancey to the chair and we are told by an early historian that "he did not suffer by comparison with that distinguished gentleman, Mr. Clay, who as a speaker still stands unrivalled. Combining with great energy and quickness, an astuteness of mind, his bland and elegant manners rendered him peculiarly fitted for this station."

Nathanial Macon was intensely interested in Yancey and frequently visited him at his Caswell home. There are still alive many traditions of their friendship and companionship. Macon was a man of the most intense conservatism, while Yancey was thoroughly imbued with the idea of progress. Macon seemed to fear that his friend would be carried away after new policies and in 1818 he wrote a most earnest letter to him in which the following remarkable language is used: "Be not deceived; I speak soberly in the fear of God, and the love of the constitution. Let not love of improvement, or a thirst for glory blind that sober discretion and sound sense, with which the Lord has blessed you. Paul was not more anxious concerning Timothy than I am for you; * * * * * Remember that you belong to a meek State and a just people who want nothing but to enjoy the fruits of their labor honestly."

He became a member of the State Senate in 1817 and served as presiding officer of that body continuously until 1827. His rare courtesy, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, quick perception of intricate questions, and his great love of fair play made him, perhaps, the most popular presiding officer that the state has ever known. His name is closely connected with all of the many reforms which were then sweeping the State. Referring to his great usefulness, Wheeler says, "the present Supreme Court system, the order and regularity of the Treasury and Comptroller's departments of the State, and the various acts regulating the Internal Improvement of the State, and many other public measures received an impulse and support from him that secured their success." Possibly, his greatest claim to fame rests upon the fact that it was due to his statesmanship and wisdom that an educational fund was created which was the beginning of the great public school system of the State. In those days Caswell was rich in great men and among his associates at home and in the General Assembly were Romulus M. Saunders, Bedford Brown, Quinten Anderson, James Rainey, James Yancey, John Lewis, Charles Donoho, and Littleton Gwynn.

In 1826 President John Quincy Adams tendered to Yancey who was now a political opponent, the appointment as minister

to Peru. Yancey took the matter under advisement and quite an extensive correspondent was carried on between him and Henry Clay, who was then Secretary of State, relative to the matter, but the appointment was eventually declined. In 1818 he was appointed by Governor John Branch a judge of the Superior Courts, but declined it. He gave as his reasons for the refusal that he did not "choose to hold any office unless it was an elective one."

He died on the 30th of August, 1828, after an illness of eight days. He was in attendance upon court in the town of Greensboro and was the attorney for the plaintiff in the famous breach of promise case of Sallie Linden vs. Martin. The case lasted an entire week and Yancey was very active. It is said that his speech before the jury was a magnificent effort, ranking with the best efforts of the greatest lawyers of the State. It was late Saturday evening when the jury brought in a verdict in favor of his client, and the close of the case found him utterly exhausted from his great exertions. He went to his room at the hotel and, as the weather was excessively warm, raised the windows, threw himself across the bed, and was soon fast asleep. He awoke about day, experiencing a severe chill. In spite of his friends' advice, he was determined to attempt the trip home and ordering his horse, drove home, a distance of fifty-two miles, reaching there at ten o'clock that night. He grew rapidly worse, hour after hour, until the end came. His great mind was clear until the last enabling him to call his wife to his side to receive instructions about the future management of his estate and the training of the seven little ones. And thus soothed and sustained by an unfaltering trust, the mighty soul of Bartlett Yancey crossed the "great divide" to join with the spirits of the good and the true and the wise on the other shore.

THE POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL
CAREER OF BARTLETT YANCEY.

By J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

THE POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL CAREER OF BARTLETT YANCEY.

In 1812 Bartlett Yancey was elected to Congress as a member of the Republican party and as one of the group known as "War Hawks." He took his seat on June 3rd, 1813, and in a rather surprising short time, judging by standards of to-day, took quite a prominent position. In a letter written about the time of Yancey's death, Judge Nash said:

"In a short time after he had been in the practice of the law the district in which he resided chose him as its representative in the Congress of the United States, and here he took a high and distinguished station. His practical talents soon brought him forward and placed him at the head of one of the most important committees of the House of Representatives. This station he continued to occupy while a member of the House. But in a few years he was admonished that, however alluring the path of political life might be, it did not lead in this country to wealth, and that the time had not arrived to him when justice to his family would permit him to devote himself to the general politics of the country. He resigned his seat in Congress, returned to the discharge of his professional duties, and never I believe, in this country did more abundant success crown the efforts of any individual."

His first speech was made on June 19th on Webster's resolution concerning the French decrees. He had already voted for their consideration and a few days later he voted for the entire series, claiming that he did so in defense of the administration. He was heart and soul for war with England and as a member of the committee on foreign relations he had, even though a new number, more than an ordinary opportunity for exerting influence. His war feeling was evidenced in July by his vote against the reception by Congress of the protest against the war which was adopted and sent to Congress by the legislature of Massachusetts.

At his second session he was placed on the committee of claims

of which Stevenson Archer of Maryland was chairman, and at the third session when Archer became chairman of the ways and means committee, Yancey succeeded him as chairman of the committee of claims. He retained this position during the next Congress.

During his Congressional career Yancey made many warm friends and became a well known figure in American politics. With Clay and Calhoun he was on particularly intimate terms and the friendship with the latter lasted until the end of Yancey's life. In 1824, Calhoun was his choice for President and Crawford occupied only a second place until Calhoun decided not to be a candidate. Nathaniel Macon was an old and valued friend and adviser, but Yancey frequently differed with him and voted on the opposite side. In general, however, he was in close agreement with him, though entirely independent. Tradition has it that he frequently, at the request of Clay, filled the Speaker's chair in the House and that in that position, he displayed great ability. Certainly his later career as the presiding officer of a legislative body would indicate much valuable experience.

As has been seen, at the end of his second term of service in Congress Yancey declined re-election. The chief reason for this action was the necessity of devoting all his time to the practice of his profession. Members of Congress were paid only \$6 per day during his first session and \$1,500 per annum during his second, and this was entirely inadequate for the needs of his growing family.* The question of salary also influenced him in declining Governor Branch's tender to him in 1818 of a position on the Superior Court bench. He was rapidly rising to the head of the legal profession and in respect to this it is well to quote Judge Nash once more:

"It is now, I think, twenty years or more since my acquaintance

*Yancey's family consisted of two sons and five daughters. They were as follows: Rufus Augustus, who graduated from the University and died unmarried; Algernon Sidney, who never married; Frances, who married Dr. Henry McAden; Mary, who married Giles Mebane; Ann, who married Thomas J. Womack; Carolina, who married Lemuel Mebane; and Virginia, who married George W. Swepson. There are many descendants living.

with Mr. Yancey began. He was then just entered into the profession, young, unknown and poor; but by steady attention to business and rigorous prosecution of his profession he soon built up for himself both a name and a fortune. Though at the time of his death still a young man, we have all known him long as a high minded, honorable man and lawyer. If by some he was excelled in the powers of reasoning, and by others in the graces of oratory, by none was he surpassed in that plain, practical good sense which rendered him eminently successful as a lawyer."

Speaking of him before a jury Judge Nash said:

"He was a most energetic and powerful debater. Blessed with a manly person, an observant and active mind, a well-regulated and harmonious voice, there was a resistless impetuosity and vehemence in his efforts that bore down like an avalanche every opposition."

Although the call of his profession kept him out of national politics, it did not interfere with participation in State affairs, and in 1817 Yancey consented to serve his county in the State Senate where he remained until 1827. At his first term he was unanimously chosen speaker and held that position by successive unanimous elections until his retirement from the legislature. He was most popular as presiding officer and was soon regarded as the safest and ablest man in State politics. To quote Judge Nash still once more:

"As speaker of the senate Bartlett Yancey was in his appropriate sphere. Nature had in a peculiar manner fitted him for the station. Dignified in his appearance, he filled the chair with grace; prompt to decide, little time was lost in debating questions referred to the speaker; energetic in enforcing order, the most unruly became obedient; fair, candid and impartial, all were satisfied—so entirely so that from the period of his first election no effort was once made to disturb his possession of the chair. Even those who in other respects differed from and opposed him admitted that as a speaker he was without reproach. But it was not alone as speaker of the senate that Mr. Yancey as legislator was useful to his native State. He was too sound a politician not to perceive the true policy of the State. Ardently attached to

the land of his birth, his constant effort was to elevate her in the moral and political scale. Whenever a measure was brought before the legislature which in his estimation had these objects in view, he fearlessly threw himself and all the weight of his character into the ranks of its friends, and with as full contempt of consequence he never failed to frown upon and oppose all those wild measures of mis-rule which have from time to time agitated the legislature of our State."

Although not in national politics, Yancey never lost interest in national affairs, but was very active in all campaigns and through his vast correspondence kept in touch with public sentiment in Washington and in the different States. He was without doubt consciously in training for the wider service, the higher honors which seemed to await him but which he was never destined to enjoy, but in the meantime with all the force of his tireless energy and great ability, he devoted himself to the cause of his State.

He was prominent in nearly all the important movements of his time. To him is due much of the credit for the final establishment of the supreme court system; probably more than any other one man, he secured the reorganization of the treasury department of the State; he was the loyal and devoted friend of internal improvements by State and—in opposition to his friend Macon—by national aid; and he divides with his preceptor, Murphy, the honor due for the establishment of North Carolina's first system of public education. Nor was this all. His county was rather inclined towards eastern sentiment in the sectional struggle which then convulsed the State. The system of representation in the General Assembly was hopelessly bad and entirely unfair to the West. Yancey was above all things fair and on all occasions urged that justice be done and the reform secured. Two great conventions were held in Raleigh to protest against the existing conditions and Yancey was the most prominent and active of the members of the first which was held in 1822. The next met in 1823 and Yancey was called to the chair as its president. Twelve years passed before reform was secured, but Yan-

cey's name was not forgotten by the section whose cause he had espoused and five years after his death a new western county, carved from Burke and Buncombe, was named in his honor.

As the years passed it became very evident that Yancey would soon receive an election to the United States Senate. This was known to be his ambition, and without question he would have succeeded John Branch, who resigned to enter President Jackson's cabinet, but his end came on August 30, 1828, and left only the possibility of fancy as to what his later career might have been, a fancy not hard to form in the light of his earlier life.

LETTERS TO BARTLETT YANCEY

LETTERS TO BARTLETT YANCEY

From John J. Inge¹

Raleigh, 24th Nov., 1819.

Honbl. B. Yancey, Esq.,

Sir:—

Your note of yesterday was handed me by Col. Robards. I do not profess to be skilled in anything like etiquette or the fashionable formalities of the day: nor did I conceive that you would desire a strict adherence to either; otherwise I should have definitely stated in my first communication those remarks which appeared to me to be exceptionable, or perhaps, I might not have written at all, without first having a personal interview with you.

There were two objections, however, to adopting the latter course. The first was, I discovered my feelings to be too much irritated and was fearful they might lead me to err. The second that if I had called on you personally to inform me whether you intended your remarks personally to apply to me, and you had informed me that you did not, still this explanation would have been insufficient, for tho' sufficient to satisfy me as to the correctness of your intention, yet those who were present when the remarks were made would know nothing of the explanation which had been given. If you will state to me in writing generally that you had no intention of insulting my feelings, or if you will state it verbally to the gentlemen present on the evening when the remarks were made, I should feel perfectly satisfied. I have no choice to either mode. If Sir, I had by any expressions unintentionally have given a wound to your feelings, I should not hesitate. Indeed I should take a singular pleasure in giving you

¹John J. Inge was a lawyer of Granville county who was a member of the legislature in 1815 and 1816.

any explanation which you might require and I should consider it due to myself to do so.

I will now endeavor to state according to the impressions on my mind the observations alluded to and the remarks which produced them. In the course of our conversation on the banks I was insisting on the necessity of enforcing specie payments, and advanced as a reason the situation of a number of citizens in that section of the State to which I belong, namely that they had dealt considerably with the country merchants, that their accounts had been closed by bonds and these bonds had fell into the hands of the Petersburg merchants in discharge of the debts of the country merchants, that suits had been commenced on these bonds, that the Virginia merchants required the current discount if paid in No. C. money and gave instructions to that effect. That the banks would refuse to redeem their notes either with Virginia or U. S. notes which would be received at par, or specie, the loss consequently fell upon the citizens thus circumstanced and they thereby placed in the power of merciless creditors. These are as I understand them in substance the remarks used by me, to which you hastily replied as I understood you, "that any lawyer who would obey such instructions ought to have his ears cut off." In the course of conversation I had previously observed that I had received the No. C. money at 15.12½ and 8 per cent discount according to the instructions which I received, therefore as I understood you I could place but one construction on your observations. Perhaps I may have misunderstood you, I hope I have. This you alone can determine.

I cannot close my remarks without stating that I considered myself bound to adopt the course which I have taken. I have felt no disposition to misinterpret anything which you have said or done, and the same remarks used under the same circumstances by my most intimate friend would call from me the same course of conduct. I hope I have not acted improperly, if I have it has been undesignedly. I have cautiously endeavored to avoid any expression which I thought might be considered improper. After the remarks, if you intended nothing by the observations

here related, I hope you will say so. If you did intend anything I know you have Independence enough to state it regardless of consequences.

With due considerations of Respect,

I am etc., etc.,

JNO. J. INGE.

From John J. Inge.

Raleigh, 24th Nov., 1819.

Honbl. B. Yancey, Esq.,

Sir:

Your letter of this morning was handed to me by Mr. Sanders and I am truly gratified to say that you have given me all the satisfaction which I had a right to expect, and I can with candor say that I am truly sorry for the temporary misunderstanding which took place. The observation about discharging the committee as well as I understand first originated with Gov. Branch and the sentiment was afterwards reiterated by myself.

At the time of making the observation it did not once occur to me that the duty of appointing the committee devolved on you. I only intended to convey this meaning, that although the committee should propose and report measures against the conduct of the banks yet I did not believe the legislature would carry their propositions into effect or concur with their report, and I take a pleasure in this as well as I should on every other occasion to state that I believe you to be utterly incapable of any motives incompatible with honorable principles or the station which you fill. I am glad to say that I shall leave you in the same spirit of friendship with which I met you.

Very Respectfully,

Your fd. and obt. Servant,

JNO. J. INGE.

From Stevenson Archer¹

Capitol, Feb. 23d, 1820.

Dear Yancey:

You will find from the reception of this that I am at the old stand, occupied at the unpleasant business of legislation, when perhaps you had expected that I had been quietly seated down in the woods of Alabama mingling in my occupations the dispensation of justice with the culture of her prairies and the prostration of her forests. In my visit to that region of our country I was delighted with the fertility of many portions, and with the benignity of its climate, and should unquestionably have have finally taken up my abode there, if I could have disposed of my property in Maryland, but all my efforts to effect this object were ineffectual and not being able to go without this disposition, I have been fixed perhaps for life to the soil of my nativity.

I am pleased to find that you are taking an elevated political stand in Carolina. Go on and prosper.

We are literally doing nothing here, or rather worse than nothing. The Missouri question for the several weeks last past has occupied both branches of the legislature, and while I am now addressing you, a *yankee*² is on the floor making a most *moving* speech, declaring against slavery and all its interests. In truth the discussion of this matter has been of the most alarming character to the people of the Southern and Western States.

¹Stevenson Archer was a native of Maryland and had a very distinguished career. He was a graduate of Princeton and soon after he began the practice of law he was made a judge of the Court of Appeals. He was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1821. He was chairman of the committee of claims in 1813 when Yancey was a member of the committee and a warm friendship was formed between them. In 1814 he became chairman of the committee of ways and means. From 1817 to 1819 he was United States judge of the Mississippi Territory and from 1845 until his death in 1848 was chief justice of Maryland.

²The reference is to Henry W. Edwards, of Connecticut, who was a member of Congress from 1819 to 1823, United States Senator from 1823 to 1827, member of the State legislature from 1828 to 1830, and governor in 1833 and from 1835 to 1838.

These *yankee folks* have a *sort of notion* that they can emancipate our slaves and have pretty broadly hinted at the practicability and expediency of such a measure. But I *guess* they will scarcely ever venture seriously to attempt the measure. The agitation of this question has created great warmth and excitement here: one would suppose from the storm which has been blowing here that the whole nation was in a ferment. Are your good people tranquil? I hope so. When the streams become polluted we must resort to the fountain of all power to restore its purity. I have no idea that either Maine or Missouri will be admitted into the Union at the present session. They will, I think, both fall in a disagreement of the two houses, and thus the excitement created at the present session will be doubly increased by the next.

Wishing you health, prosperous fortune, and political eminence, permit me to say now,

Sincerely I am your friend,

STEVENSON ARCHER.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From William Gaston¹

Raleigh, July 15th, 1821.

My dear Sir:

As you will probably be a member of the General Assembly at the next session, permit me to call your attention to a subject on which a little legislation may be useful. In the Act of 1782 establishing Courts of Equity it is provided that matters of fact which shall come *in issue* between the parties shall be determined by a jury in the presence of the Court. A difference of construction leading to a difference in practice has arisen upon this provision of the law. The Judges in the Supreme Court asked the Bar for their opinion on the question whether a Jury must pass upon *every fact* on which the parties do not agree in the Bill and Answer, as being a fact in issue—or whether a Jury in the presence of the Court were to try those issues which the Court proceeding according to the uses of Chancery might direct, instead of their

¹William Gaston of New Bern, later associate justice of the Supreme Court.

being tried in a law Court as had been the case before the passage of the law. Mr. Mordecai¹ thought every part of the Defendant's answer was put in issue by the Complainant's replication, and all the allegations in Complainant's bill were to be deemed in issue which Defendant's answer did not admit. Mr. Henderson² and myself thought the Act prescribed a different mode of trying issues of fact than had theretofore prevailed, but left the making of issues of fact where it had been before in cases where the Conscience of the Chancellor required information. Mr. Seawell³ said he had sometimes entertained one opinion, sometimes another, and he was then unable to say which opinion predominated. The Court have hitherto deemed it safest to have issues in every case. This practice is very inconvenient and exceedingly at variance with the nature and spirit of a Court of Equity. Where there is one great question of fact, or a few great questions of fact, controverted between the parties, there is no difficulty in making an issue or two and impanelling a Jury to try them, but in the complicated and multifarious matters which a Chancery suit sometimes involves to have the matter broken up into fifty issues, and to have a dozen squabbles as to the wording of these issues and to task the patience of the Court to explain them to the Jury—then to dispute about the admissibility of the testimony as to some issues and its inadmissibility upon others—and ultimately to have the finding of the Jury set aside because of their not comprehending the subject,—is anything but decorous and useful. As there is a prospect of getting all our Chancery suits determined (provided the enemies of the Supreme Court⁴ do not succeed in their meditated ven-

¹Moses Mordecai, of Raleigh, a very distinguished lawyer. He was born in New York in 1785, but was educated in North Carolina and spent the rest of his life there. He died in 1824.

²Archibald Henderson, of Rowan, one of the State's most eminent lawyers and most distinguished men. He was a federalist in politics and as such served several terms in Congress and in the General Assembly. He died in 1822.

³Henry Seawell, of Wake county, three times a judge of the Superior Courts of North Carolina.

⁴At this time and for some years thereafter, there was much feeling in the State against the Supreme Court and it was not at all certain that it would not be abolished. This letter is illuminating as to the nature of part of the opposition.

geance) a short explanatory Act of Assembly might remove such inconvenience. It might enact that all issues of fact in every matter of equitable cognisance should be tried by a Jury in the presence of the Court having cognisance thereof, and that issues of fact should be made up at the discretion of the Court and according to the usages of Chancery to satisfy the conscience of the Chancellor concerning doubts as to facts. (See 2 Mad. 364.) I submit the subject entirely to your judgment.

The Supreme Court has its enemies to encounter, and I think has much to apprehend from their hostility at the next session. The plan will be I think to make a mob court of it by getting the Ct. Judges on it and thus destroying its most valuable feature, its perfect separation from the tribunals whose decisions it revises. Daniel¹ is busy about Halifax. He can't bear that his adjudications should be reversed, and he fancies *himself* competent to sit in judgment on the opinions of all men. Seawell is a candidate for the Assembly in Wake and will probably be chosen. Henderson, Sanders,² Iredell³ will not be in the next session. There will not be a man from our section of the State who can render the Court any effectual aid. In the meantime Murphy⁴ and Ruffin⁵ have failed as they ought to publish the reports. There seems to be an evil genius that tries to thwart anything that is attempted for the increased reputation and prosperity of the State. If the enemies of the Court can not put the Circuit Judges *there*, they will try to bring down the Judges of the Sup. Court to the Circuits. It will be enough if they can make a break thro' the dam—the waters will soon demolish it entirely. I leave this shortly on a visit to my children near Washington, and return for the fall circuit. You have my best wishes, and I beg you to be assured of my regard.

WILL. GASTON.

¹Joseph J. Daniel, of Halifax, a judge of the Superior Courts until 1832 when he became a justice of the Supreme Court.

²The reference is to Romulus M. Saunders, of Caswell county.

³James Iredell, of Chowan, was a soldier in the war of 1812, judge of the Superior Courts, speaker of the House of Commons, governor, and United States Senator before he was forty years of age.

⁴Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange, reporter of the Supreme Court.

⁵Thomas Ruffin, of Orange, who was evidently associated with Judge Ruffin in preparing the reports.

From William Gaston.

Newbern, Nov. 5th, 1821.

My dear Sir:

Your obliging letter of the 25th of September came to hand while I was on the circuit and unable to find leisure to answer it. The recommendation which you give of Mr. Harrison has with me and I am sure will have with every member of the board, every effect which Mr. Harrison can desire. Should however the vacancy occur which is alluded to the Board will probably give the appointment to one of the present officers at this place whose merit is personally known to them and who would be glad to receive the appointment.

My attention has been strongly and favorably drawn to certain resolutions on the subject of an Appropriation of public lands to the purposes of education which passed the Legislature of Maryland last winter. The interest which No. Ca. has in the scheme is very important and the scheme must succeed if the Atlantic States will be but true to themselves. It is substantially just. Equality is the highest equity. The public funds when distributed should be distributed for the good of all. I take the liberty of sending you a pamphlet publication on the subject which was transmitted to me by Mr. Maxey¹ with whom the plan originated. I wish that you may regard the matter in the same light that I do.

In the 15th Section of the Act establishing the Courts of the U. States there is an admirable provision with respect to parties being compelled to produce books in evidence which I should like to see incorporated into our system of jurisprudence. Everything that has a tendency to bring out fully the merits of a case when under judicial examination is very desirable.—now unless the party *will* produce the books, in nine cases out of ten evidence of their contents is not to be had.—See 2 Phillips, 337.—The provision which I took the liberty of suggesting in a former letter about trying

¹Virgil Maxey was a native of Massachusetts, but removed to Maryland, where he was a member of each house of the legislature. Later he was Solicitor of the United States Treasury and for a time was *charge d'affaires* to Belgium. He was killed by the explosion of the gun on the Princeton which killed Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State, and a number of others.

disputed facts in Chancery ought to apply in all Chancery proceedings whether in County, Superior, or Supreme Courts.

I wish you a pleasant legislative session and hope that it will be beneficial to the State. Yours respectfully and affectionately,
WILL. GASTON.

*From Thomas Ruffin.**

Raleigh, July 2nd, 1822.

Dear Yancey:

The sale of Rose's Property will be made on Monday next to a certainty I expect. I shall attend myself and hope the sale will be closed as I have had trouble enough about it, God knows, and can't think of taking more on me, if avoidable.

I should be exceeding glad to see you there and beg that you will not disappoint me. I have many things to say to you—to communicate some facts and to interchange opinions upon other points. The Republicans must rouse themselves. The public mind must be enlightened; else the Cause and the Country will go down. There is a powerful combination formed and forming against us. Don't fail to be at Person. I have no time to say more.

Yours truly,

THOMAS RUFFIN.

N B. Come early in the day, so that we may have a long talk. I shall be obliged to get home Monday night so as to leave again on Tuesday.

*From Romulus M. Saunders.**

Washington, Dec. 20, 1822.

Dear Sir:

I have duly received your favor of the 16th instant, and shall

*Thomas Ruffin, later chief justice of North Carolina.

*Romulus M. Saunders of Caswell county, for many years one of the most influential political leaders in the State. During his career he probably held more offices than any other man who has lived in North Carolina. He was always a candidate for any vacant office and Mr. Badger when asked who would succeed to the bishopric of North Carolina after the defection of Bishop Ives replied that he did not know but he was certain that Judge Saunders would be a candidate for it.

direct this to Raleigh under the expectation of its reaching there before your adjournment. I regret much the result of the Senatorial election.¹ I knew that every engine which ambition and the wildly arts of faction could invent would be brought to bear against you. Yet I had flattered myself that there would be found enough in the Legislature who regarded the true character of the State, not to be carried off by improper insinuations. Stokes² on his arrival here stated that he had directed the withdrawal of his name provided no election took place on the fifth balloting, but I cannot say whether he did so or not. It behooves us however to submit to these things with the best possible grace. There were many opposed to you *secretly* whom you did not suspect.

I should be very sorry for the character of the State if the Legislature should give in to any wild projects for a new bank, or take any improper steps towards those in existence to gratify the malignant feelings of a few individuals. I must hope for better things. I suppose you will adjourn in the course of next week.

Nothing has transpired here since my last. We have had one or two debates in the House, the one on the occupying of Columbia river the most important. It will not now pass though it is likely that it will in the course of time. Everything is going on harmoniously. Our speaker³ seeks every occasion to ingratiate himself with the Northern members particularly those who are re-elected. He is (*inter nos*) tho' a man of talents, rather a vain and popularity hunting kind of a fellow. With public men I begin to think there is but seldom to be found much of the virtue of sincerity.

You will have seen from the papers that Clay has been nominated by Kentucky and Missouri. He is to make a bold finish. The Kentuckians here say they will cheerfully support Crawford

¹John Branch was elected United States Senator over Montford Stokes, the sitting member, and Yancey.

²Montford Stokes, of Rowan, United States Senator from 1817 to 1823 and governor of the State in 1823.

³Philip Pendleton Barbour, of Virginia.

if they cannot get Clay. Adams has given him a severe *dig*—his letter was a kind of vacillating one and he deserved what he has received.

I hear from home that things are going on well—the times at Milton pretty brisk—market full of every thing. I understand from Petersburg that they are more in want of money than they have been for several years. [*Line here illegible.*]

Colonel Rusten desires his respects to you and says he imagines you now begin to [*Word here illegible*] B, as he always has, but he says to you as you once said to him on a former occasion, you must bear it. I shall again write you as any thing may appear.

Very respectfully,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

I have prevailed on the Post Master to continue the Stage twice a week from Warrens to Milton. The Southern route he has not yet determined on. Adieu.

*From Lewis Williams.**

Washington, November 30th, 1823.

Dear Sir:

This evening I was informed by a gentleman who has the best opportunities of information that the vote of New York is beyond all doubt settled for Mr. Crawford. In confidence I can state that there is a firm determination with the Legislature elect to secure an undivided suffrage in New York for Mr. Crawford. You need not apprehend therefore any change to his prejudice in that quarter.

We are likely to have an unpleasant contest for Speaker between Barbour² and Clay. This election will not turn on the Presiden-

*Lewis Williams, of Surry county, who was a member of Congress from 1815 until his death in 1842. On account of his long service he was called "The Father of the House."

²Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia, who was a member of the House from 1815 to 1825. He was speaker of the house in the 17th Congress. Williams' fears of a bitter contest were groundless, for Barbour received only forty-two votes, Clay obtaining one hundred and thirty-seven.

cial question in the least degree, for many of Crawford's friends will vote Clay. But the papers devoted to the army candidate will no doubt assert that the election of our Speaker is decisive of the relative standing of the different competitors for the presidency. I feel assured at this time of Crawford's success provided things go on as we expect. Calhoun has no earthly chance. His candidate for Speaker as announced in the papers some time ago, could obtain only a slender support. To save appearances they now profess to be warmly for Clay, but he is not to be duped in this way.

Let me hear your progress in North Carolina.

Yours truly,

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Archibald D. Murphey.

Hillsborough, 8 Dec., 1823.

Dear Yancey:

For several years past I have been projecting a work on North Carolina, to embrace her History, Views of her Climate, Soil, Literature, Legislation, Manners, etc., etc. I have collected Materials for two Volumes of the Work. It was my Wish to prepare a Work which would reflect some Honour on the State, and to preserve from Oblivion Facts in Our History that would be interesting to Our Posterity. Such a Work will fill five or six Volumes. It was my Wish to ornament the Work with Portraits of our most eminent Men, if they could be procured, and with Maps of the State, of several of the Counties, etc. After a Correspondence with Booksellers, I find that they are of Opinion, little or no Profit is to be expected from a Voluminous Work, the Fashion and Taste of the Times being for Compilations, Epitome, and Abridgements. And as to a Catchpenny production, it would do no Honour either to the State or the Writer, and it could not embody that Information which, if it be worthy of being preserved, must now be done, or it will be entirely lost.

I am too poor to encounter the expense and lose the Time which would be required either to collect the Materials or arrange

them. I should have to purchase the Materials in the hands of Francis X. Martin,¹ travel over the State once or twice, go to Kentucky and spend several Months with Governor Shelby,² and probably go to other States to see other Men. I should have to spend at least a Year in Raleigh examining the public Records and making extracts from them. The probable expense, including the Purchase of Materials, would exceed three thousand Dollars. I must necessarily curtail my Practice and have time to devote to this Pursuit.

Will the State aid me in this Work? It will be a National one, and I could not expect much aid from Individuals. As I have at all times unbosomed myself to you freely and confidentially, I will Submit to you the following propositions and leave the Subject to your Discretion. I will prosecute this Work with diligence and complete it, if the State will

1. lend me \$10,000. for eight or ten years, free from Interest, the Payment to be secured by a mortgage of real estate.

2. pay the expense of engraving the Portraits, Maps, etc.

3. Give me access to the Public Records.

I have addressed a Letter to my Friend Mr. A. Moran on this Subject, and if you feel any Interest in it, I beg you to confer with him, and determine upon the Course which should be pursued. The Money and time which I have heretofore spent in the public Service, have contributed in a considerable degree to

¹Francis Xavier Martin, the historian. He was a native of France, but lived in New Bern for many years. Jefferson made him a judge of the Mississippi Territory and in 1815 he became a justice of the supreme court of Louisiana. He died in 1842. He was a legal writer of note and was also the author of a history of North Carolina.

²Isaac M. Shelby was a native of Maryland. At the time of this letter he had reached an advanced age after a life very full of honor and achievement. He served in the legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina, was one of the commanders at King's Mountain and was presented with a sword by the State of North Carolina for his part there. He helped to draw up the constitution of Kentucky and was its first governor in 1792. He was again elected in 1812. He was a soldier in the war of 1812 and was granted a medal by Congress for his services. He refused a place in the cabinet under President Monroe. He died in 1826,

my ruin, and Prudence forbids my again embarking in it without a Certainty that I would not Sustain a Loss. As to making a Profit from it, I would not expect it.

Yours truly and affectionately,

A. D. MURPHY.

B. Yancey, Esq.

(*Enclosure*)

Whereas it is desirable that the History of North Carolina should be written and published in a style becoming the Character of the State; and Whereas without the Patronage and aid of the General Assembly Such a Work cannot be expected,

Resolved, that the Speakers of the two Houses of this General Assembly be and they are hereby requested and authorized to contract on behalf of the State with a suitable Person to write and publish the History of North Carolina; and to draw on the Treasurer for Such Money as may be necessary to carry this Resolution into effect; and their Draft shall be a Voucher for him in the Settlement of his accounts.

From Lewis Williams.

Washington, Dec. 15th, 1823.

Dear Sir:

The result of the vote on Fisher's Resolution was much as might be expected from the wisdom and intelligence of our Legislature. Never was I more gratified than in hearing of the issue.

I send to your care a pamphlet entitled, "Economy, Mr. Calhoun." You must have it published in the Register as a kind of set off against the pamphlet which appeared against Crawford. Several new numbers will appear on the same subject, and you must certainly have them printed, but tell Mr. Gales' he must not

¹Joseph Gales, a native of England who had come to the United States in 1794 as a political exile. He published the *Independent Gazette* in Philadelphia until 1799 when he came to Raleigh and established the *Register*. He was later the editor of the *National Intelligencer* of Washington.

let it be known where it comes from. Let it appear in the papers without any observations calculated to shew from what quarter it was received. Other numbers I will send you as they come out.

Yours truly,

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Romulus M. Saunders.

Washington, Dec. 17th, 1823.

Dr. Sir:

Yours of the 10th and of a previous date are to hand. I have not as yet been able to collect satisfactory the information asked for in your first. I will endeavor to do so in the course of this week. The quietus given to Fisher's Resolutions has perfectly astounded Calhoun's party. They had been led to believe that they would actually pass and to be rejected by so large a vote has blasted all their hopes. The Washington Republican has denounced us here as "*a desperate faction*" and accuses us of giving false information by letters to the legislature. Every thing now I think is working to our interest. We only want a caucus and Crawford's vote will astonish the nation. I do not believe even in a full caucus of Republicans that Calhoun would get 30 votes. The caucus will be held in January. This will afford time to the Legislature of Pennsylvania to act upon the subject, as it is confidently expected that they will pass resolutions in favor of a caucus. The defeat with you has been communicated both to New York and Pennsylvania. Gallatin¹ has been here, has returned and takes an open part for Crawford. He will be run as Vice President if it be the wish of the State or will certainly come

¹Albert Gallatin, a native of Switzerland, who had been a member of the Pennsylvania convention of 1789, the State legislature, Congress, and the United States Senate. He had also been Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison and is regarded by many as the ablest financier who has ever filled that office. He declined the positions of Secretary of State and Secretary of the Navy and also the nomination for Vice President. He signed the peace treaty with Great Britain in 1815 and was afterwards minister to France. He was noted also for a comprehensive plan of internal improvements.

into the administration, should Crawford succeed. Calhoun and Adams' friends are getting at points; thus we feel confident that many of the friends of the latter will come over to Crawford. In some of the States they begin to speak in favor of Crawford. Indiana has evidenced a disposition to 'give in and he is also gaining in Ohio—in caucus Mr. Crawford will receive several votes from the latter State. It is thought here to be very important to get 'Mr. Macon' to *call* the caucus or at least attend it. He seems to hesitate. I think he may be brought over to attend. I have thought it might have some weight for you to get some of our leading friends in the Legislature to join you in an application to him upon the subject.

It is impossible to say what course Clay will take—he begins to distrust his strength from seeing the friends of Crawford so willing to go into a caucus. His friends say he will act in such a way as not to injure himself for the future, that he can join neither Adams nor Calhoun, but if they come to him he will of course receive them—he is no doubt calculating something on this score. I am induced however to fear that he will if he can avoid going into caucus—if he cannot, he will then agree to abide by its decision.

I have been asked what is the state of parties in your body. I have answered that I thought Crawford would have a more decided majority there than in the other house—will you answer this?

I see Gales has published my piece, tho' very badly—he made a paltry amt. in announcing the result of the resolutions. The Washington Gazette gave it as a victory to Crawford and continues to use it as such. You will hear from us again in a day or two.

Truly Yrs.,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

Would it be possible for you in any way to have the question of the electoral law argued and decided in the Senate? This would be better for us.

²Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, the acknowledged leader of political thought in the State at the time.

From Lewis Williams.

Washington, December 20th, 1823.

Dear Sir:

I send you another number on the manner in which the Secretary of War has managed the affairs of his Department. Mr. Gales must publish it in his paper. The same injunction as before must be applied, not to let it be known from what quarter this publication was received.

Since I wrote to you I have received a letter from Jonathan Roberts¹ in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. He confirms the account heretofore had, of all things going on well in that quarter. Forsyth² showed me a letter today of more recent date which he had received from a member of great influence in that Legislature. It speaks very strong and confident language as to the goodness of our prospects there. In my mind there is no room any longer to doubt as to the ultimate vote of Pennsylvania.

I have it confidentially from a friend who dined with the President day before yesterday that Calhoun looks chopfallen. Last night another friend saw him at Gen. Brown's³ party, and says that he appeared quite bewildered and mentally absent. He asked Tom Rogers⁴ from Pennsylvania "how Mrs. Chauncy was" so that everybody noticed the *odd question*. He forgot it would seem that he was talking to Rogers and not to Chauncy.⁵ These things are mentioned among ourselves and must not be talked of publicly. But I have no doubt he begins to feel all the horrors of disappointed and ungovernable ambition. This is to you in confidence.

I yesterday had a talk with one of the New York delegation who comes from Gen. Root's Town.⁶ He confirmed me more than ever

¹Jonathan Roberts, who had been for many years a member of Congress before becoming Senator from Pennsylvania. He had, however, been defeated in 1821.

²John Forsyth, of Georgia, frequently member of Congress and Senator. He was Secretary of State under Jackson and Van Buren.

³Probably Senator James Brown, of Louisiana.

⁴Thomas J. Rogers, of Pennsylvania, a native of Ireland.

⁵Commodore Isaac Chauncey, of Connecticut, at that time stationed in Washington as naval commissioner.

⁶Probably Erastus Root, of New York,

in the opinion that New York would vote for Crawford—. there are 23 out of the delegation who are *good and true*. Some of the rest are *borderers* in politics who will take the *right side* after it is clearly ascertained.

Your friend and Hb. Servt.

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Nathaniel Macon.

Washington, 31 Jany., 1824.

Sir:

Yesterday I received your letter of the 19 instant, and calculate from its contents that you may get this some Saturday night or Sunday; and I would be as willing for Mrs. Yancey to have it as yourself, so your attending courts will not prevent my writing whenever the fit takes me.

General Saunders gives the account of Crawford's¹ health from what the doctors tell him, I from seeing and conversing with him. I am this minute from his house; he gains strength, but cannot bear light on his eyes; his right eye he told me improved, but his left continued very sore and not free from pain. I however hope he will be well before Congress adjourns, and able to attend to his business; his sickness I fear has been a great disadvantage to him; as it has prevented his being acquainted with the new members, of which there is a great number. I did not see Mrs. Miller today, but left your message for her with Mr. and Mrs. Crawford both of whom promised to deliver it to her. I have been told that the anti-caucus men have had a caucus and determined not to attend one; I was not of the number, though I have not decided to attend.

Genl. Jackson since being here, has behaved with great propriety; nor have I heard that a single one of his friends had been over busy about the presidential election. The most industrious are said to be the friends of Calhoun and Clay. I think it probable that Crawford has as fair a chance for the vote of Rhode Island and Connecticut as any named candidate; the same may be

¹William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had suffered a stroke of paralysis while conducting his campaign for the Presidency.

added of Delaware. In New York his chance is considered better than any one; Pennsylvania uncertain and much divided.

The Tariff men and those for internal improvements by the federal government in high spirits and calculate to carry their measures by considerable majorities and it is reported that the bankrupt bill will be brought again before Congress. If Congress can make canals and banks, it is as omnipotent as the British Parliament.

The Greek motion¹ laid on the table, some of its opponents say never to be taken up again.

I have written by candle light till I cannot see to read.

1st February.

I have been uniformly of the opinion and stated it to the caucus friends of Crawford that they ought to convene if they meant to do so; and the meeting ought to have been in December; the strong side rarely gains by delay and delay has no doubt given their opponents an opportunity to manage to the best advantage to trouble them. Crawford is still believed to be the strongest named candidate with members of Congress.

I know you think I might add much more, but I rarely go out of the house I board in and the shy hogg²ers² never mention their doings to me, nor even their expectations.

I would rather be at your house and see your family at home than be in any city, town, or village in the nation. I have no time for such places, nor gift for a man dinner. I never was at one and never expect to be at one.

Remember me in all good wil' and friendship to Mrs. Yancey; tell your children I hope they will do well; and believe me

Your friend,

NATHL. MACON.

¹The reference is to Webster's motion to authorize the President to appoint an agent of the United States to Greece where the revolt against Turkish authority was then in progress. It was supported by Clay also and was successfully opposed by Randolph in behalf of the administration which feared that such action would not be in accord with the sentiments expressed in the message of December, 1823, which promulgated the Monroe Doctrine.

²Dr. Battle explains this very usual expression of Macon as derived from "beating the woods" for shy hogs.

From Lewis Williams.

Surry County, July 25th, 1824.

Dear Sir:

I was in Iredell last week attending the muster and tax gatherings. I think some impression, favorable to Crawford has been made in that County, more than existed when I went there. A little leaven will leaven the whole lump, and if the movement has a good start I think we may count upon a favorable issue.

At Huntsville yesterday I understood as a matter of Report that Mr. Franklin¹ had or would withdraw from the Crawford Ticket, alleging that it was useless to make an effort to sustain Crawford. I do not believe this myself and only name it to you to give an idea of the Reports in circulation. There is I am further informed the greatest opposition to Crawford in the Hills and generally on the North side of the River. I had expected that General Graves² and Mr. Franklin would be able to sustain the cause of Crawford in that part of the County and if the necessary exertions were made I yet think they could do so. My object in these remarks you will perceive is to impress upon you the necessity of urging them to further and greater exertions. In Iredell where I had been informed Crawford had scarcely a friend the people appeared very well disposed before I left them. All that is wanted is a fair representation of Crawford's character and qualifications to give him the majority in every neighborhood. But as I cannot be everywhere, Graves and Franklin must do their part in Surry at least. It would have a most salutary effect if Franklin would attend the Superior Courts and harangue the people on that subject. The same course might be pursued with the other electors and where they cannot attend some other capable friend should undertake the business. I hope you will consult with them and recommend something of the sort, for I assure you it would have a good effect, and an effort of the kind ought to be made to entitle us to success.

In the Morganton district there is no person to espouse the cause.

¹Meshack Franklin, of Surry, member of Congress from 1807 to 1815.

²Solomon Graves, of Surry, for many years a member of the State legislature.

of Crawford and Wilson¹ or Ship² should do it in speeches to the people at the Supr. Courts. I shall probably³ see you week after next on my way to Halifax, in Virginia. I shall probably be by Caswell Court House on Monday or Tuesday when an opportunity will be presented for further conversation. But in the meantime write to Graves and Franklin. If we begin to operate with spirit immediately after the August Elections a great deal can be done between that time and November.

I am Dr. Sir, your most obt.

and very Humble Servant,

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Robert Williamson³

Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26th, 1824.

My dear friend,

Your very obliging letter of the 26th ultimo was duly received, for which I tender you my thanks; and should have answered sooner but for the reasons hereafter mentioned. The leading object of your letter seems to be to obtain such information as I may be possessed of on the subject of the presidential election. In order therefore to meet your call, in a way interesting to you and satisfactory to myself, I deemed it expedient to postpone the reply, until I might have an opportunity of meeting with the people at some of the county courts, which have just finished their sessions. The result I am happy in stating to you is favorable to our views and I hope and trust the nation's interest. Since my nomination on the Crawford ticket, I do assure you sir, I have omitted no opportunity presented to my convenience of proving to the people that Mr. Crawford ought

¹Joseph Wilson, of Stokes, member of the House of Commons from 1810 to 1812 and solicitor of the mountain district from that time until his death in 1829.

²Probably Bartlett Shipp, of Lincoln.

³Robert Williamson, of Lincoln, who had had some years of service in each house of the State legislature.

to be the man of their choice. In doing this I do assure you sir, I have met a most powerful opposition. First by the friends of Mr. Calhoun who were numerous and influential. And secondly by the supporters of General Jackson (friends I shall not call them). The latter in consequence of his military achievements I have found much more potent than the former. For some time after Jackson was brought forward, it seemed a hopeless undertaking to attempt in any resistance to his claims or pretensions. In almost every Captain's company the drums were beating and fifes whistling for the hero of New Orleans. The officers would treat their men, make them drunk and then raise the war whoop for General Jackson. Then the poor, staggering, drunken, and deluded creatures would sally forth for the place pointed for them to vote. The result was always in favor of Jackson. I have conversed with some of them afterwards who told me they did not intend to vote that way at the proper election, they voted so just to please their officers. But a great change has, and is now daily taking place. The sober and industrious people have never been in favor of Jackson for that important office. They have been either for Adams or Crawford. But since Crawford has slain his enemies with their own weapons, he is gaining ground very fast. My competitor, Genl. Forney¹ is a popular man in this part of the State. He is a red hot Jacksonite. But oh the tariff! The duty upon iron, etc. butts him in the face when he comes out for Jackson. You wish me to tell you how your old friend the Major² is going in the presidential election. He told me last winter if Calhoun should be withdrawn he would then go for Crawford without doubt. *Not so now.* He goes for Jackson. He is a tariff man. The friends of Mr. Adams (a few excepted) here will not

¹Peter Forney, of Lincoln county, a Revolutionary soldier who was very active in politics. He had served in the State legislature, had been a member of Congress from 1813 to 1815, and was an elector on the tickets of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. He died in 1834.

²Daniel M. Forney, of Lincoln county, major in the war of 1812, member of Congress from 1815 to 1819, commissioner to the Creek Indians and member of the legislature from 1823 to 1826. In 1834 he removed to Alabama, where he died in 1847.

support Jackson, but some of them will vote for Crawford, not that they love Crawford more, but that they love Jackson less. The counties of Mecklenburg and Cabarrus have been very much devoted to Jackson and he may perhaps have a majority of votes in my district, but I think Mr. Crawford will get the vote of the State.

Would it not be aiding our cause to instruct Mr. Gales to publish the names of the gentlemen in nomination for Mr. Crawford in his weekly paper until the election comes on? The names will become known and familiar amongst the people. Pray sir, are you nominating delegates to meet at Raleigh next November? We have done so in the west. Please to write to me and I shall with pleasure reciprocate.

With much esteem
dear sir, your old friend,
ROBT. WILLIAMSON.

From W. Ruffin¹

Raleigh, 1 Sept., 1824.

Dear Sir:

Frequent inquiries have been made by some of the Gentlemen, on the Crawford ticket, to know, whether it is expected of them to address the Electors in their several districts; or whether there will be a general address from the central Committee? My own opinion is that there should be an address to the people collectively, from the Central Committee; and have so answered. It has also been asked in what form the address to the Citizens will issue—in the newspapers only, or in pamphlets? Some persons think in the latter and that from 400 to 600 copies should be sent to each County, in proportion to population. Should not the tickets be printed and distributed at the same time with the address? How and to whom are they to be forwarded? You will have to prepare the address and as there is not much time to lose, you had better begin to make up your mind upon the subject.

¹William Ruffin, of Raleigh, a native of Virginia, and the uncle of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin.

Let me hear from you on the above queries as soon as you can. I suppose you see I have gotten into *hot water*. I don't know whether I am to be overwhelmed by the "odium" of public opinion, or whether I shall escape unhurt. I hope the latter.

With due respect,* I am, yr. mo. Obt.

W. RUFFIN.

From Thomas Ruffin.

Hillsborough, Decem. 3rd, 1824.

My Dear Sir:

I have occasion to get a Deed here for some lands in *Virginia* and wish to know how I am to have it acknowledged by Husband and wife here, so as to be effectual there without further proof or proceedings. The Act of Assembly of that State prescribes the *very form* of the whole proceeding and is to be found in "*Leigh's Revisal*" which belongs to the Executive Office in Raleigh, under the head of "*Deeds*" as well as I remember. The Act embraces the proof of all Deeds, I think; but also specially provides the form of proof or acknowledgement before the tribunals of the Country or State in which the grantors live, when it is executed out of *Virginia*. That is the part I want and I shall feel greatly obliged to you for extracting these sentences *in totidem verbis* and enclosing them by the return of the mail or by the first opportunity.

We have no news here but what has got cold with you. We know not yet whether Clay or Crawford get into the house. For my part I feel very indifferent about it, because Crawford has been so abused and vilified and all sides have so run at him and thro' him at the Republican party that I have no hope of final success even if once in the house. I do not know but it is better for the good cause and the *revival of Democracy* that he should be excluded. A spring will bear a certain degree of compression beyond that it will not be forced, and then its elastic rebound is certain and often fatal to the resisting power. Thus I hope it will be with the people and their deluders. Besides, if Clay can be brought on the Turf, he will make sport, be sure of it!! His men will not go to Jack-

son or Adams, the Republicans would support him in preference to either of the others and he would get some States, this for instance, where neither Crawford nor his Ticket has succeeded. Besides this, I learn from Murphey (you have my author) that the West generally, including Jackson himself, will support Clay, when Jackson can not be carried. This must be the case, for the Adams men will not—nay, nobody can support him (Jackson) after he leaves the shoulders of the People. Hence I should not be surprised if Clay should be the man at last. I have no hope of Crawford. He is too honest and too good for the present day. The Republican party is down—God grant it may not be *done!*—and he has sunk with it.

Murphey told me today that he thought Crawford much the greatest and best man among them. I believe the fact to be so, but did not expect so *candid* a confession *from him*. To what sentiment or conclusion do you imagine it was the preface? “That he was opposed to him and rejoiced in his defeat, because *Virginia* was for him.” He declared that he would rather have a weak President than that North Carolina and Virginia should vote together. I reminded him that in this instance Virginia came to us; we being as we were eight years ago and she having changed. He said he knew that, but if Crawford had been elected Virginia would have had all the credit of it and No. Ca. none! I asked where was our credit now? What were we to get? how to be honored, served, or rewarded? I got no answer—Time will show, and my sincere hope and confident expectation is that many an hungry expectant will know his nails in bitter disappointment about the Ides of March next.

I don’t ask you at Raleigh to do much good—all we can look for is that you may prevent others from doing harm, which of itself, is much with such a *gang* as you have this winter.

God bless you!

THOMAS RUFFIN.

B. Yancey, Esq.,

Raleigh,

From Frederick Nash¹

Hillsboro, the 22nd Decr., [1824.]

Dear Sir:

Upon returning from Raleigh I found that Judge Norwood² was in Franklin, upon a visit to his friends there. I waited until to-day hoping he would get home in time for me to consult with him and advise by this mail of the result. I have been disappointed, he is still absent and when he will return is uncertain. I think I do not venture too much in saying that the location mentioned by you will meet his approbation. He dreads the mountain circuit as being too laborious and if the Bill should as I presume it will give to the Judges the liberty of accommodating each other by occasional exchanges, the difficulty will doubtless be removed. I fear however the whole is too good to be true—in other words no such favor will be accorded us.

The vote of Louisiana has decided that Mr. Clay does not go before the House of Representatives. Do the friends of Mr. Crawford still entertain any hope of his election? Badger when in this place told me I was the most unfortunate politician he had ever known—when Crawford's prospects³ were flattering I was opposed to him and now that they were hopeless he was my favorite. There is some truth in this. I fear I labor under some natural propension to descending. But Mr. C., after Mr. Calhoun, was always my favorite personally, and I most cordially wish him success and should unquestionably vote for him if I had a seat in Congress. I do and always have viewed him as the ablest and purest man of the four. Can you spare a moment to reply to this? Has the business of the board sunk to rest? The more I have reflected upon the transactions of the last night we were together, the more extraordinary I think them.

With sincere regard,

I remain respectfully,

Yours,

F. NASH.

¹Frederick Nash, several times a member of the House of Commons, judge of the Superior Court, associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1844 to 1852 and chief justice from that time until his death in 1858.

²Judge William Norwood, of Orange, one of the judges of the Superior Courts.

From Willie P. Mangum.*

Washington, 25th Dec., 1824.

Dear Sir:

I have this morning received yours of the 20th inst., and have only a moment to write to you. I certainly am astonished to hear that anybody can form the slightest pretence, or indulge the remotest expectation that I shall give any other vote than for Mr. Crawford in the H. of Reps. I have written but very few letters, and have been upon my guard. I have expressed my opinion in some of them that Jackson is likely to succeed. In doing so I have expressed what has seemed to me most probable, knowing that the event was in no manner to be controlled by any opinion that I might express—or that other than members might entertain. I write to you at Raleigh, that you may if it should become proper in any conversation, declare my determination not to give up the ship. I do not know what No. Ca. will do in the event Crawford is *de hors*, nor does any other person know. Indeed, it is here understood that the members from No. Ca. have not looked to any other result than a vote for Crawford; that when it shall become necessary to surrender his claims it will then be time enough to determine as to the course by them to be taken. But it is generally understood, and I believe the fact to be so, that his claims are not to be surrendered; that our delegation are *unwilling to take the responsibility of making a President, without a choice*; that to vote for another is² in some degree *underwriting* for him. This they are unwilling to do. Late events leave Jackson's prospects more doubtful than they have heretofore been supposed to be. Cooke² of Illinois, it is pretty certain, will vote for Adams—he pledged himself to vote with his State. But the

*Willie P. Mangum, one of the most important political figures in North Carolina history. He was several times a member of the legislature, twice a judge of the Superior Courts, member of Congress, United States Senator from 1831 to 1836 and from 1841 to 1854. In 1832 South Carolina cast her electoral vote for him for President and during Tyler's administration he was President *pro tempore* of the Senate and *ex officio* Vice President of the United States.

²Daniel P. Cooke, a member of Congress from 1820 until his death in 1827.

State is divided into 3 electoral districts, and tho' Jackson got 2 votes, yet there were powerful minorities in each, and in the district where Adams prevailed the majority was large, leaving the parties so balanced that he feels at liberty to pursue the dictates of his own judgment. He will of course go for Adams and without him, Jackson cannot succeed.

Your calculations as to Mississippi and Louisiana are, I believe, all wrong.

All depends on Kentucky—which is yet doubtful—Ohio and Missouri will go with her, if she takes a decided stand.

I have no time to write now. I will write to you before long more at leisure and more in detail.

Yours respectfully,

W. P. MANGUM.

None of Crawford's friends from No. Ca. will move unless all move. They will act with perfect harmony and *en masse*.

W. P. M.

From Lewis Williams.

Surry County, April 4th, 1825.

Dear Sir:

Before the close of the last Congress I had understood Mr. Franklin had been solicited to offer for Congress in this district, but had declined the invitation to come forward. Since my return I have understood that these invitations have been repeated, but as yet he declines.

My object in writing to you at present is to request it of you as a favour to address a letter to Mr. Franklin on the subject, and urge him not to offer, provided you shall think it right to do so. The object of the Jackson party is now to get possession of the State Government, and at the end of four years, of the General Government too. If they can bring on a collision between Franklin and myself they think one step towards the consummation of their wishes will have been taken. It is a matter of very little concern to me who has the administration of the government if Crawford has not. But he has retired only to come out with renewed strength and splendour. If he regains the use of his speech,

of which I have no doubt, he will go to the Senate, and make those villains tremble who have been assailing him with impunity. Cobb told me he would resign at any moment Crawford and his friends should think it fit for him to return.

To succeed in these objects it will be necessary to preserve the organization of the Crawford party in this State, and to interest if possible every man who attended the Caucus and voted for him in the House at the last Session. It is not so much from the apprehension of a defeat, but to prevent collisions that I do not wish Franklin to come out.

I hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken, and hold my communication in strict confidence. Our friends at Washington thought we could at the next election command Pennsylvania. I understand from my friends at Washington that Jackson will probably resign, and if he does all chance for him hereafter will be at an end. Whether he does or not it seems to me he cannot be elected hereafter, but he may prevent the success of Crawford if he should be a candidate.

If you do write to Mr. Franklin, the sooner it is done, perhaps the better.

With great respect, I am,

Yours truly,

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

To Dr. William Montgomery.¹

Caswell, 2nd of July, 1825.

Sir:

I recd. your letter of the 22nd of June on yesterday, and take this the earliest opportunity of answering it. In your letter you say, "that a report is quite current in Orange that I have been interfering in the approaching Senatorial election of that County and that on my return from Raleigh last winter or sometime in the winter I spoke in the most disrespectful terms imaginable of you as a member of the legislature, and that my declarations

¹Dr. William Montgomery, a physician of Orange county who was prominent in politics. He served for ten years in the legislature and was a member of Congress from 1835 to 1841. He died in 1844.

reached you speedily hereafter." What my declarations were or upon what subject, you have not been pleased to mention.

You will recollect I saw you at the Superior Court of Orange last spring and had Conversation with you, and you did not upon that or any other occasion intimate to me, any declarations or Conversations of mine about you of an unfriendly character, although from your letter, the report of which you now complain, had then reached you. That I have interfered in the Senatorial election of your County is untrue; for whatever may be my private opinion and preference of the Course of policy which was pursued by your Competitor, while a member of the General Assembly, to the Course pursued by you at the last session, yet a proper respect for myself would forbid that I should electioneer in your County for or against you.

I have been frequently asked in Conversations, the provisions of several Bills which you introduced at the last session, which I stated as well as I could recollect. It is more than probable that in the Conversations I may have said something from which an inference was drawn that I was not friendly to them. It is probable that some declaration of mine upon some of those occasions may have been exaggerated into the report of which you speak, for you have been long enough concerned in elections to know that a report never loses anything by being told again.

It is impossible for anyone always to recollect precisely the words he may have used in Casual Conversations, but I should have no hesitation in Candidly admitting to you or any other man, any declarations of mine upon any subject any time, if recollected.

You are at liberty to show this letter or not, but Certainly if before the public in your County you say anything about the report to which you allude, I may expect the Justice of you to read at the same time this answer to your letter.

Very respectfully,
B. YANCY.

A copy.
B. Y.

*From Lewis Williams.**

In relation to the future course of things in Congress it is almost impossible to speak. The administration is strong at present,—

*A fragment written in 1825.

I think there are not more than forty or fifty in the House of Representatives who will be systematically opposed. They are the friends of Jackson and Calhoun. The friends of Adams and Clay you know are committed to sustain the administration at all hazards. The friends of Crawford will act upon the principle announced in his toast after his return from Georgia, to-wit, "to judge the administration by its acts". The friends of Crawford will therefore probably be divided on most questions affecting the administration, while the friends of Adams and Clay will generally be united. Hence therefore the administration will have much greater strength in its favor than can be commanded by the friends of Jackson and Calhoun who move systematically in the opposition. In short I think they will waste away gradually and come at last to nothing—on all great and leading points calculated to alarm the people and raise opposition, Jackson is committed to the same course of policy with Adams or Clay. Nothing can be gained therefore in principle by turning out Adams and electing Jackson. The opposition when closely examined will be found entirely of a personal and factious nature, and it does not seem to me likely that the American people will suffer themselves to be agitated and convulsed in order to gratify such feelings.

Our delegation will I think be divided on the subject of politics in the future. Bryan,¹ Holmes² and Hynes³ of the new members will support the administration. So I think will McNeil,⁴ but Alston,⁵ and Carson⁶ will belong, I think to the opposition.

¹John Heritage Bryan, of New Bern.

²Gabriel Holmes, who had been governor of North Carolina in 1821. He was a member of Congress from 1825 to 1828.

³Richard Hines, of Edgecombe county.

⁴Archibald McNeill, of Cumberland county. He had been several times a member of the legislature and was now serving his second term in Congress after an interval of one term.

⁵Willis Alston, of Halifax, who served in Congress from 1799 to 1815 and from 1825 to 1831. He was chairman of the ways and means committee during the war of 1812. He died in 1837.

⁶Samuel P. Carson, of Burke county, a member of Congress from 1825 to 1833. He is best known for his famous duel with Dr. Robert B. Vance, whom he killed. He died in Arkansas in 1837.

Mangum¹ as far as I have heard his opinion will not assist in the elevation of Jackson. Conner² will act independently but a neutral part. The course of Long³ and Sanders⁴ you probably know better than I do. I have not heard them speak decisively on the subject.

Clay is making himself very acceptable to all—particularly to strangers and the new members. His vast fund of common sense will enable him to add to rather than diminish his strength. Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois will co-operate on the future occasion in favour of the views of the administration. Ohio has lately rejected the Tennessee Resolutions with great unanimity. In short every thing considered it does seem to me that Mr. Adams will be elected four years hence, and after him Clay has the best chance to succeed. Clay is the only man on whom the South can rally. Being from a slave holding State the South should cling to him.

I have given you *my opinions* respecting matters and things. In order to give better hopes to the opposition

From Lewis Conduct⁵

Washington, Febr. 23d, 1826.

Dear Sir:

* * * * *

You will see by the papers that our Constitution tinkers have got the Instrument upon their anvil and with hammer and sledge are at work "*totis viribus, pugnīs et calcibus, unguibus et rostro.*" making 5 holes where they stop one. I would perhaps, if compelled to vote on any amendment, agree to district the

¹Willie P. Mangum.

²Henry W. Connor, a native of Virginia and a graduate of South Carolina College. He served in the Creek war and was a member of Congress from 1821 to 1841. He was later a member of the legislature.

³John Long, who was a member of Congress from 1821 to 1829.

⁴Romulus M. Saunders, of Caswell.

⁵Lewis Conduct, of New Jersey, who was a prominent physician who was very active in politics. He was for five years in the State legislature, two of them as speaker, was on the commission to settle the boundary with New York, and was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1817. He died in 1862,

States, but in my opinion there is much sound sense and wisdom in the old maxim: "let well enough alone".

Yours sincerely tho' hastily,

L. CONDUCT.

From Lewis Williams.

Greensborough, November 18th, 1826.

Dear Sir:

You have understood I presume from Mr. John P. Carter¹ that Judge Murphey is willing to go upon any of the South American missions, though he would prefer that to Columbia, or one of corresponding dignity.

I know the respect Mr. Clay has for any proposition suggested or recommended by yourself, and intimated to Mr. Carter that it would have a happy effect upon the views of Judge Murphey if your friendly interference could be procured in his behalf. From Lenox Castle Mr. Carter wrote me that he had spoken to you on the subject, and you very generously and frankly assured him the Judge should have the benefit of whatever influence you might be able to exert.

The object of my letter to you at this time is to suggest that if in the multiplicity of other engagements you shall not have written to the Secretary of State, you will have the goodness to address him on the subject immediately. In matters of this sort you know the importance of dispatch, because a little delay might enable some other person to preoccupy the place your friend is pursuing. I wish Mr. Clay to know your sentiments concerning the appointment of Judge Murphey at any rate before the meeting of Congress. A letter from you by the next mail, allowing for the uncertainty of that mode of transportation, would arrive in Washington only a short time before the commencement of the session.

I shall go on from this place tomorrow morning to Raleigh, and after remaining there a few days to transact some business I have in Wake County Court, I shall proceed to Washington. It would afford me great pleasure to hear from you during the

¹This was probably John Carter, member of Congress. from South Carolina

winter, and especially while our Legislature are in Session. If any thing occurs amongst us possessing interest or importance, you shall be advised of it.

With great Respect, I am,

Dr. Sir, your Obt. Hbl. Servt.,

• LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esquire.

From John A. Cameron¹

Fayetteville, Decr. 29, 1826.

Dear Sir:

I take the liberty of writing to you with the view of requesting you to favor me, occasionally, with your views and opinions upon the passing political events of the day. Many things will occur during the sitting of the Assembly, which may have an important bearing upon the political course of the State. North Carolina is looked to with much interest, by the politicians of the other States, and especially by the members of the National Administration, as the editor of a public Journal, I should like to be informed, accurately of our political movements, and of the opinions which are entertained of men and measures. Should it suit your convenience, I should be happy in hearing from you as often as agreeable to yourself.

If the course pursued by the N. C. Journal meets your approbation, could you not assist in its circulation among the members of the Assembly, and your friends and neighbors at home? I should be glad if you could do so.

With much regard I am

Dear Sir!

Yr. mo. obt. Ser.

J. A. CAMERON.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

¹John A. Cameron was for many years a member of the North Carolina legislature. He served for a time as consul to Vera Cruz and was later United States judge in Florida.

From John H. Bryan¹

H. R.

Jan'y. 17, 1827.

My dear Sir:

I feel much obliged by your prompt and friendly return for the few hurried lines I sent you. The Com. on Mr. Calhoun's appeal² are very assiduously engaged and I expect are investigating his whole official course. The Bill providing for the Survivors of the Revol'y. Army³ has worried us very much, and is barely alive—with Wickliffe's⁴ amendment including the heirs and Reps. of the deceased officers who were entitled to the provision of 1780 I hardly think it can get along.

We were very suddenly to-day forced into Comm. of the Whole on the State of the Union, to consider a Bill from the Com. on Manufactures reported by Mallory,⁵ imposing highly increased duties on imported woolen fabrics—if we could get entangled with this subject, there can be no reasonable conjecture made, as to when the debate will close.

You wish to know what seem to be the present prospects of Jackson and Adams here. I am by no means as well qualified to answer the question as many others—as it consumes all my time to read our documents which I endeavor to do.

¹John Heritage Bryan, of Craven, who had served several times in the legislature. He continued a member of Congress until 1829.

²Charges of corruption had been made in the press against Calhoun in in connection with the granting of certain contracts while Secretary of War. He demanded a committee of investigation and was exonerated.

³This was a proposition to increase the pensions of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the Revolutionary service.

⁴Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky. He was a soldier in the war of 1812, speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives, lieutenant governor, and Postmaster General under Taylor. He was sent by President Polk to Texas on a secret mission in 1845. He served in the Kentucky constitutional convention of 1849, was a member of the Peace Conference of 1861, and a member of Congress from 1861 to 1863.

⁵Rollin C. Mallory, of Vermont, who was a member of Congress from 1820 to 1831.

I believe the Admn. regard the defeat of Randolph¹ as a signal triumph and I am inclined to think that the simple *fact* will be of great service to them—as that will be known in many places where the *explanation* will not be.

I understood to-day and from pretty good authority that *Pennsylvania* would demand that Jackson should come out decidedly in favour of Internal Improvements (and I think of the Tariff) or in other words should eat the *whole hog*, as the condition of her support of him—but for this I by no means vouch.

As to my own sentiments, I really, if I could choose, should elect neither of the gentlemen to rule over me—and I am not fully convinced as yet that there is any contest of *principle* between them, and until there be, *cui bono?* would the change be?

I think your free negro bill a very important one—my opinion not lightly formed—therefore not worth much, decidedly is—that they are not *citizens*. Present me if you please to Croom,² Spaight,³ Forney,⁴ etc., etc.

Yours truly,

JN. H. BRYAN.

From Romulus M. Saunders.

Washington, Jany. 20th, 1827.

My dear sir:

I observe what you say in regard to my proposal to the Bank. I can freely say, that I think they ought to take the

¹John Randolph, during the preceding session of Congress, had become a laughing stock to the Senate. His powers were rapidly failing and he was above all things vindictive. Feeling in Virginia was very strong against him and in consequence he was defeated for re-election and Governor Tyler was chosen to succeed him. Tyler's famous letter to Clay, published soon after, made the State as a whole rather regretful of the change. Randolph was idolized in his own district which promptly returned him to Congress.

²Isaac Croom, of Lenoir.

³Richard D. Spaight, Jr. He was a graduate of the University of North Carolina and became a lawyer. He served for four years in the House of Commons, two years in Congress, ten years in the State Senate and in 1835 became the last governor of North Carolina under the old constitution.

⁴Daniel M. Forney, of Lincoln.

property, for nothing but my anxiety to free myself from the debt and the idea of getting a full price for the property could induce me to give their debt the preference to others, which I am under primary obligations to pay, yet I flatter myself that in getting that discharged, I shall be able in a few years to wipe out every debt. They could not lose very much by taking the property. If they decline I must sell it for what it will bring, but the proceeds must go to other objects. I shall feel thankful for any service you may render me.

I am glad to hear that you are all so decided against the administration and that the opposition is settling down upon Jackson—rest assured that he is the man that alone can be run with success—and you will pardon me for saying that of all others I consider him as better fitted for the times. I have had several free conversations with Van Buren and read his letters from Albinay. He is well disposed towards Clinton, but his party are fixed and inveterate against him—they seem resolved to frustrate him, if for nothing else, to gratify their feelings. Van B. now has a delicate and difficult part to play. His election comes on the 6th of next month and tho' it be secure, yet some management is necessary. His party from what I collect, despise Clinton, hate Adams and have no love for Jackson—he is not sufficiently a party man for them. If Clinton comes out for Jackson, then it will be very difficult to carry the bucktails with him and the old federalists of his own party are for Adams. I do not believe much if anything is to be gained by running Clinton as V. President. The republican party in N. York may be brought to support Jackson, but care, management, and time must bring it about. It is very important that so large a number of the delegation in the next Congress will be opposition men—they will take their predilections home and extend them through their States. When Van B. has secured himself he will go to work.

Your remarks are perfectly correct as to Calhoun but that matter must be an after thought. He is much disturbed at the idea of being dropped. You see the Legislature of Penns. are on Monday next to go into the nomination of Jackson—if he is nominated *without* Calhoun, then he goes down. I do not much

regret it, d-mn him, he is now reaping the fruits of his 4th of July letter and other misdeeds.

The Senate are upon the Bankrupt bill¹—its fate doubtful—we upon the Tariff and it is said a prohibitory law of the West Indian trade will be introduced on Monday. I trust the 3d of March will arrive in time to preclude our doing much harm.

I shall be glad if Jones should remain, with the understanding of resigning next fall—by that time I can have it in my power to produce some impression in the West and the league of the present session must be dissolved. Unless you offer, Morehead² or Sheppard³ will offer for Congress.

When will you likely resign?

Yours truly,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

B. Yancey, Esq.

From Willie P. Mangum.

Hillsborough, 27th January, 1827.

My dear Sir:

I [*An illegible line follows.*] learn that a young gentleman who came from Raleigh a day or two ago, reports that he heard a public conversation at a dinner table amongst a number of members of the assembly, and that it was confidently said and seemed to be so understood that in consequence of the public excitement indicated at my temporary appointment to the Circuit Co. Bench, I had declined being a candidate before the Legislature.⁴

¹This was a bill providing for a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States. It was introduced into the Senate by Hayne and failed in both houses.

²Probably John M. Morehead, of Guilford.

³Augustine H. Shepperd, of Stokes.

⁴Judge Mangum had been appointed by Governor Burton to succeed Frederick Nash. His forebodings of defeat were well founded and the combination of the East and West which he feared brought about the election of Robert Strange and James Martin. Mangum was elected to the Superior Court Bench in 1828, but his heart was never in his work and he resigned in 1830 to become a candidate for the United States Senate.

It is true that I have neither requested any member nor distinctly authorized any one to nominate me; hence it is possible that the inference may be drawn and by reason of my silence on the subject my friends may not know my inclinations. I have seen no member since the month of November, nor have I except on this occasion put pen to paper on the subject.

My object now is merely to inform you of my wishes on the subject. I have hitherto abstained from any interchange of sentiments directly with you on this matter and you can readily appreciate my reasons. I know the delicacy of your situation and the jealous and illiberal spirit with which you are observed by a certain party in this State and I should be very reluctant by any means whatever or for any object to strengthen that spirit. But to the subject:—My mind was made up in the summer to accept the appointment if conferred; to devote my best exertions to the public duties; to turn my studies exclusively to the law; to endeavor to obtain as respectable a standing as my ability would admit; and to enter upon those duties as a permanent business.

Early after my appointment, I was astonished to perceive the virulence of public feeling growing out of that occasion. If I had been elevated over men preeminent for legal learning, or distinguished for great or long continued public service, I could not ought I to have felt surprized. Whatever estimate the public may think that I have formed of my own qualifications, on that occasion at least I don't think I am censurable for overweening presumption. When Judge Toomer¹ was spoken of and when it was expected that his name would be before the council; recognizing as I did the reasonable wishes of the Cape Fear district; and the high personal claims of Mr. Toomer; I determined to yield to his pretensions; and that determination was distinctly announced to Gov. Burton.² But when the other

¹John D. Toomer, of Cumberland, who had been a judge from 1818 to 1819 when he resigned. In 1829 he was appointed to the Supreme Court, but the appointment was not confirmed by the legislature. In 1836 he went on the Superior Bench, but resigned in 1840.

²Hutchins G. Burton, governor of North Carolina from 1824 to 1827. He had already served as attorney general of North Carolina and had been a member of Congress from 1819 to 1824. He died in 1836.

gentlemen were the only competitors, I was unable to view their pretensions in the same imposing light. Nor could I perceive that either learning, or public services imposed upon me any obligation to yield to them. After the appointment was received, I expected as a matter of course to hold a poll before the Legislature. Nor have I been deterred from persisting in that determination, by denunciations as virulent as they were unexpected.

I know full well that the confirmation of my appointment will be resisted with great violence and great numerical strength, not am I unprepared to meet complete defeat.

But I feel that I have been treated with a rudeness and indecorum, as unexampled in former cases, as it was uncalled for by my private deportment,—and that too upon an occasion, when to grant the most of my opponents the public interest could not have sustained any deep injury by my appointment over the gentlemen *then* before the Council. Hence my determination is to enter the contest, for I prefer to meet my enemies, and encounter an entire overthrow, rather than make a pusillanimous retreat.

A part of the opposition to me savors so strongly of deep political malignity or personal hatred; that my resistance as far as it depends upon me, shall at least be manly tho' unavailing.

My early resignation when I recd. the same appointment in 1819 will be urged against me and not without effect. I have to say to you, (tho' I should scorn to enter publicly into domestic reasons for my conduct) that the disastrous turn my Father's pecuniary affairs took the year after, left me to choose between keeping the appt. and looking coolly on his situation, or to abandon my station and endeavor to save as much of the wreck as wd. make his situation comfortable. I did not hesitate in making the choice, nor shall I ever regret it, whatever may be the effect upon my personal advancement.

I learn that Gen. Stokes¹ is violently opposed to me, and says amongst other things "that but for that damned fellow the

¹Montford Stokes.

Moravian suits would have slept forever." This in substance he urged and was urging strongly agst. me this fall in Wilkes. I have to say that my decision on that question, after several days' argument, has been affirmed by the Supreme Court. It was the granting the petition for a review of a decree in Equity.

My own opinion is that the lamented death of that firm and honest man Judge Paxton¹ will make against me. Will it not produce a coalition between the southern and western interests? Whereas if one vacancy was to supply, the motives to coalition would not exist.

I wish you to understand me. That however proud, as I really am of your good wishes, yet I know the delicacy of your situation so well that I neither expect, nor do I wish you to mingle in this contest in any way to your prejudice. For however anxious you may naturally expect me to be in reference to the issue; yet knowing that contests of more consequence to the public are yet in reserve; I hope I should be unwilling to weaken in any way, those upon whom my hopes of success rest.

I wish Mr. Scott² of Hillsboro to be apprized of whatever is contained herein.

Believe me yours truly and sincerely,

W. P. MANGUM.

From Lewis Williams.

Washington, Nov. 30th, 1827.

Dear Sir:

I send you the receipt of Gales and Seaton for payment of your subscription to the *Intelligencer*.³ I directed them to forward the paper to you at Raleigh as you requested—and after the adjournment of the Legislature to Milton.

¹John Paxton of Rutherford, a judge of the Superior Courts from 1818 to 1827.

²John Scott, member of the House of Commons from the borough of Hillsboro from 1818 to 1820 and from 1824 to 1827.

³The *National Intelligencer* was a Washington paper owned and edited by Joseph Gales and William Seaton, who also owned the *Raleigh Register*.

We have no news of moment. There is much talk about the election of Speaker. I think Taylor¹ will prevail, but by what majority, it is difficult to say.

Permit me to request your attention to a petition from the citizens of Surry requesting the erection of a Court House, etc. The petition is in the hands of Mr. Hough,² one of the members in the Commons from Surry. I believe you never were at Rockford, and I will therefore refer you to Mr. Settle³ for a full detail of the disadvantages and inconveniences under which we are doomed eternally to labor if the Court House should be permitted to remain at Rockford. But we do not propose to tax the people to effect our objects. We wish to make an experiment of putting up all the public buildings without resorting to any tax—by the sale of lots, etc. Permit me again to request your attention to the petition and your aid in this business.

With great Respect, I am your
Obt. and very Hbl. Servt.,

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Lewis Williams.

Washington, Dec. 11th, 1827.

Dear Sir:

In conversation with Mr. Cobb⁴ the other day I asked him if Mr. Crawford would consent to be run as Vice President.

¹John W. Taylor of New York, a member of Congress from 1813 to 1833. He was speaker of the House at the second session of the 16th Congress and in the 19th Congress. He died in 1854. Williams' expectation was not fulfilled; for Taylor was defeated by Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, the candidate of the friends of Jackson.

²Ephraim Hough.

³Thomas Settle of Rockingham. Mr. Settle was a member of the legislature in 1816 and from 1826 to 1828. At the latter session he was speaker of the House. He served in Congress from 1817 to 1821 and in 1832 became a judge of the Superior Courts and held this position until his death in 1857. He was the father of Judge Thomas Settle, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina and of the Federal Court of Florida.

⁴Thomas W. Cobb of Georgia, member of Congress from 1817 to 1821 and from 1823 to 1824, United States Senator from 1824 to 1839.

He answered that he would be willing, but added that he would not be run as the partisan of either of the candidates for the Presidency. I then told him that I should myself be unwilling to see Mr. Crawford run as the Adams, or Jackson candidate for the office of Vice President, but let him be supported by his friends as Wm. H. Crawford standing alone upon his own merits. To-day I was in the Senate Chamber and Mr. Cobb took occasion to say that Mr. Haynes¹ of the House of Representatives from Georgia had received a letter from his Brother who was a member of the Legislature of that State, stating it as his opinion derived from a full and free conversation with the members of the Legislature of that State, that Mr. Crawford would be nominated by the Legislature of Georgia as a candidate for Vice President. Mr. Cobb seemed pleased with the idea of Mr. Crawford being thus brought forward. I said to him that it was the best and safest plan of bringing him out for that office and that I would write to you on the subject to know your opinion and receive such suggestions as you might think proper to offer. If you think it advisable to make any movement in this way, be so good as to inform me of it immediately. It is the only way of getting Mr. Crawford before the nation as a candidate for that office, and if he is once out he I am inclined to think would beat Calhoun in every State except South Carolina. I understood Mr. Crawford's health is very much improved, and the fact of his acting as Judge proves sufficiently that he could discharge the duties of Vice President. Calhoun was elected Vice President by the friends of Adams, Jackson, and Clay—and there is no reason why Mr. Crawford should not receive the votes of the friends of Adams and Jackson. As yet nothing is known as to the person who will be run for Vice President on the Adams ticket. Shultz² of Pennsyl-

¹Charles E. Haynes of Georgia, member of Congress from 1825 to 1829 and from 1835 to 1839.

²John Andrew Shulze, governor of Pennsylvania from 1823 to 1829. is the person meant. He was a strong Jackson man and his holding the office for so long a time was regarded as an important element in the campaign for Jackson, which began when the House of Representatives elected Adams in 1825 and only ended when Jackson was elected in 1828.

vania, Gov. Pleasants,¹ and Mr. Crawford are all talked of. Conventions are to meet in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio at no distant day, and we are anxious to hear from the original friends of Mr. Crawford so as not to admit of conflict in the choice to be made of a candidate for that office.

If Crawford should be taken up in North Carolina as a candidate for Vice President, without reference to any other candidate for the office of President, it would go far in my opinion to induce other States to take him up also. If taken up I feel confident he could be elected, independently of the choice to be made of a President. My conversations with Mr. Cobb, and this letter to you are all so many acts upon my own responsibility. You will therefore consider the proposition to you as of no more value than an original and independent determination of my own.

Your friend and Hbl. Servt.

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

Bartlett Yancey, Esq.

From Augustine H. Shepperd²

Washington, 13th December, 1827.

Dear Sir:

Altho' I have been in the City some eight or ten days yet I have gathered but little information that could be interesting to you. The little that has been done in Congress has had nothing peculiar to characterize it, unless it be the political demonstration contained in the first act. This you have no doubt learned in various ways. Waiving all political considerations, the election of Mr. Stevenson³ is no doubt a fortunate result; for

¹Governor James Pleasants of Virginia. He was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1819. United States Senator from 1819 to 1822, and governor from 1822 to 1825. He served also in the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829-1830.

²Augustine H. Shepperd of Stokes. He served in the legislature from 1822 to 1826, in Congress from 1827 to 1839, from 1841 to 1843, and from 1847 to 1851.

³Andrew Stevenson of Virginia, member of the legislature for many terms and speaker of the lower house, member of Congress from 1821 to 1834 speaker of the House from 1828 to 1834, and minister to Great Britain from 1836 to 1841. He died in 1857.

judging from his deportment in the Chair so far, I incline to the opinion that he possesses peculiar fitness for the duties of the station. His manner is dignified courteous and yet sufficiently decisive and prompt. It may well be said that his elevation proves that a majority of the house are opposed to the re-election of Mr. Adams, but upon some of the important subjects thought to be the favorites of the Administration, the same decision I think cannot be anticipated. I allude to Manufactures in connection with the tariff and Internal improvements for many of the advocates of these measures, are hearty Jackson men and voted for Mr. Stevenson. This is particularly true of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and New York. But little is said on the appointment of the Committees, at least not more by way of objection than has been the fate of the most judicious selections heretofore. You will perceive that Mr. Randolph is Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.¹ The time has been when he was no doubt eminently qualified for the station. But he is John Randolph merely in the recollection of former days and you need not expect to hear of his having raised his voice in the house during the session, indeed his constitution is so shattered and gone that he can scarcely converse so as to be understood in a private circle. Mr. McDuffie² is therefore essentially Chairman of that Committee. You will see that *The Intelligencer* has already been complimenting him as to the character of his views, etc., etc. I wish that I were sufficiently acquainted with the great ones here so as to be able to give you even a slight sketch of their characters and relative pretensions. But will you believe me when I tell you I have not seen Mr. Adams. I called in order to do so and found him engaged. Mr. Clay I have spent an hour with: he is certainly a very pleasant man but I think by no means so agreeable and interesting as Mr.

¹Randolph was bitterly hated by Adams and his selection for this important position was part of the policy of the House to do everything which would injure and displease the President.

²George McDuffie of South Carolina, member of Congress from 1821 to 1835. He was elected to the Senate in 1843, but soon had to resign on account of ill health. He was a close friend of Calhoun.

McLain,¹ the P. Master Gen. who I believe to be the finest fellow amongst the dignitaries of Washington. The prevalent opinion here is that he is in favor of the election of Jackson. The Senate no doubt contains an unusual measure of talent. Mr. Webster, the ne plus ultra of the Administration has not yet arrived. He will in his new station have to breast a formidable array, amongst whom I am inclined to think that Rowan² of Kentucky is entitled to a very prominent station. And it is to me a matter of no little regret that he and perhaps many if not all of the Jacksonites from that State are of the relief party and new court School. I have frequently heard you express a favorable opinion of the talents of Mr. Sargeant.³ This conclusion would not result from a view of his person unless you were to scan very closely those lineaments of the face and head that certainly do in many instances give some clue to the mind. Amongst the younger gentlemen of the house Mr. Sprague of Maine⁴ I should suppose entitled to a very respectable Rank. John C. Wright⁵ (Gen. Sanders Devil) has the most

¹John McLean of Ohio, who had been a member of Congress from 1812 to 1816, and was now serving his term as Postmaster General, which lasted from 1823 to 1829. Although in the cabinet of Adams, he was a strong friend of Jackson and worked for him during the whole time, using all the power of his position. He was made an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Jackson. He came very near receiving the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1856 when Fremont was nominated. He was appointed Secretary of War by Tyler, but declined the position. He died in 1861.

²John Rowan of Kentucky, who was very prominent in Kentucky politics from 1799 until his death in 1853. He held many positions and was a member of Congress for one term and Senator from 1821 to 1831.

³John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, member of Congress from 1815 to 1823, 1827 to 1829, and from 1837 to 1842. He took a very prominent part in the Missouri Compromise debates and was later a strong Whig. He was the candidate of that party for the Vice Presidency in 1832.

⁴Peleg Sprague of Maine, member of Congress from 1825 to 1829, Senator from 1829 to 1835. He then removed to Massachusetts, where he became United States judge.

⁵John C. Wright of Ohio, was a judge of the Supreme Court of his State before he became a member of Congress in 1823. He retired in 1829 and became the editor of the Cincinnati Gazette. He was a prominent member of the Peace Conference of 1861 and died during its sessions.

shrewd, cunning, sarcastic and disingenious face I have ever looked upon. I had as leave fall in the clutches of any other *biped* that I have ever seen.

Whilst we have little or nothing yet to interest the public, the developments at Raleigh have been unusually momentous. What measure can we indeed affix to the consequences resulting from the disclosures in the Treasury department! what a stab to public confidence and what a triumph to those who deserve not to be seared and what an extensive sweep will not public opinion embrace in its denunciation. Do my Dr. Sir, let me know what is thought in relation to the Brothers who are concerned in the management of the Banks. I am truly gratified at Mr. Settle's¹ success in being placed in the Chair of the Commons. I feared that some others who believed themselves entitled to the station would have entered into a contest for it. It is evidently the best selection the house could have made.

Remember me to my acquaintances generally.

Repl. yours,

A. H. SHEPPERD.

From Augustine H. Shepperd.

Washington, 29th Decemr., 1827.

My Dear Sir:

I have just received your short letter but though remarkable for its brevity it contains enquiry of moment and which my very limited information does not enable me to answer with any kind of confidence. The demolition of the Turkish fleet by the allies² has here been hailed as an auspicious event leading to the conformation of Greekish liberty, but from the jealous and selfish views of those concerned in effecting the result we can scarce believe that

¹Judge Thomas Settle of Rockingham.

²Great Britain, Russia, and France in April, 1827, signed a treaty pledging themselves to interfere in the war then being carried on between Turkey and Greece. Greece accepted the treaty joyfully, but it was rejected with scorn by Turkey. On October 20, 1827, the naval battle of Navarino was fought between the allied fleets and that of Turkey, in which the latter was almost entirely destroyed and five thousand Turks were killed.

their interference has been with any other view than that of caring for themselves or dictating to the Greeks that form of government which shall suit the crowned heads of Europe and if the Greeks adhere to their Republican notions and do not quietly submit to the will of their august deliverers that force which has been turned against their enemies will no doubt be directed against themselves—but any state of existence is really preferable to their miserable Turkish thralldom. It does not seem probable that a protracted state of hostilities will be the consequence of the awful demonstration at Navarino. The *Intelligencer* of this morning gives news from Constantinople from which it would appear that the Porte not in good faith but yielding to the influence of disastrous events will at last seem to submit to the propositions of the allies. And so far as we are concerned no interesting result could it seem be anticipated from the speedy cessation of Hostilities. There seems to be a general opinion here at least amongst those I have heard speak on the subject that what has or probably what will speedily take place amongst those powers will not be of a character to effect us very materially either for the better or the worse.

But another account that I have just read speaks of a sullen determination on the part of the Turks to fight it out to the last or to admit no interference from other powers. Time therefore must mark with its unerring impress the truth upon those events which are now merely conjectural.

This being the period of Holidays you will readily guess why we are moving on so slowly, but after the greetings of the New Year there seems to be a general determination to enter more seriously on the business of Legislation. Many interesting Reports will come in next week and after mellowing for a while on the table they will become ripe for discussion. Private claims, especially those for land in Florida and Louisiana are very numerous and important to the government and claimants but on the subject I am clearly of opinion that we should cut the matter short by creating a Court or Commission for their determination. Congress cannot understand them nor has it time even if it did to devote to their decision.

Upon Mr. Barbour's¹ Resolution to sell the Government stock in the Bank of the United States we had quite an interesting discussion. Mr. Barbour is a very powerful man—remarkably systematic and perspicuous—but his mode of reasoning of the most dangerous kind—he first seeks to prove that which really requires no argument and then attempts very ingeniously to show a striking resemblance between the position illustrated and that which he seeks to establish. His manner of treating the subject is rather like the ingenious lawyer than the bold and commanding politician.

Mr. Graham is quite a financial Gentleman, his mind is truly mercantile and well stored with that kind of information suited to the question presented by Mr. Barbour. You have seen probably the vote of rejection, 174 to 9.

My health has not been good and I fear that the climate is too humid for my constitution. I am located on Pen. Avenue about half a mile from the Capitol. Mr. Mercer,² Bryan³ and two gentlemen from N. York compose our mess. I wish that I had taken your advice and located on Capitol Hill.

You may rest assured that I shall be glad to hear from you and if during my stay here I can be of any service to you be assured that no one would render it with more pleasure.

Obdy. your friend etc.,

A. H. SHEPPERD.

You will excuse the badness of my hand write when I tell you it has been the first experiment with a new silver pen given me by a friend.

From Augustine H. Shepperd.

Hall of Reps., 17 Apl., 1828.

My Dear Sir:

You have no doubt watched with much solicitude the progress of the Bill proposing additional duties upon imports.⁴

¹John S. Barbour of Virginia, member of Congress from 1823 to 1833.

²Charles F. Mercer of Virginia, member of Congress from 1817 to 1840. He served in the war of 1812. He was president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and was prominent for his opposition to slavery.

³John H. Bryan of North Carolina.

⁴The "tariff of abominations" is referred to. This is a most interesting account of the part played by the South in its adoption.

At an early period many of the Southern members looking to the features of the Bill as reported, and believing that its features were so offensive to the members of the East as to induce them to vote against it and that in the discussion between the East and Middle States we of the South should remain silent, and upon questions of amendment should content ourselves in voting so as to retain those features which should keep up the opposition of the East—Molasses was regarded as the pivot on which the controversy was to mainly turn. In this way we went on prosperously for a time until the indiscretion of the foolishly zealous temper of some from our section of the Union induced them to come out and tauntingly tell Gentlemen of the East that they voted for molasses and some other articles with a view of making the Bill odious to them; acquainted as you are with the principles of human nature you must perceive the injurious effect of such a course. Poor McDuffie has exhausted his curses on some of our friends on the subject. We have not only disclosed our plan, but defeated its success—for although we have a strong opposition to the Bill from Massachusetts and Maine, yet there has appeared in its support a majority of 18 on the question of engrossing the Bill. And notwithstanding a Mr. Pearce¹ of Rhode Island is now anathematizing the Bill upon the pending question to postpone it indefinitely, yet there is but little hope left of defeating it in our own house. I have for some weeks since been quite unwell and have but lately been able to attend in my seat. Your letter on the subject of the mail stage route was laid before Mr. Turner and I have to regret that I cannot obtain from him the co-operation which I had hoped for. He wishes to hear from his constituents and yet it seems he has recd. no communication.

I shall be truly glad to hear from you.

Truly yours,

A. H. SHEPPERD.

¹Duttee J. Pearce of Rhode Island, attorney general and United States district attorney of his State and member of Congress from 1825 to 1833 and from 1835 to 1837. He died in 1849.

From John C. Calhoun.

Pendleton, 16th July, 1828.

My dear Sir:

I forwarded the list of subscribers to the *Southern Review*¹ to a friend in Charleston who will pass it to the editor. I am pleased that you think so well of the first No. which seems to be very able. The second, I think equally so; and I feel much confidence that it will be able to sustain its character.

I regret, that I could not make my arrangements to see you, as I passed through the State. The incidents of the Winter at Washington afforded much matter for reflection, and I would have been happy to have gone over them in conversation with you. It seems to me, that the government is rapidly degenerating into a struggle among the parts to squeeze as much out of one another as they possibly can. The South being the least, and I may add less avaricious than the other, is destined to suffer severely in this odious struggle. Where it will end is hard to anticipate. The election of Genl. Jackson which I consider almost certain will, I trust, contribute to a better state of things. An honest and patriotic President has much in his power. Without some effectual remedy, our system must fall into disorder.

The Tariff causes much excitement in our State, which occasionally breaks out into some extravagance. The attachment of the great body of our people to the Union remains however unshaken. They look only to Constitutional remedies under their severe sufferings.

I have no idea that the Legislature will be called. It seems to me, that it would be unwise under any view.

The course that you indicate is certainly the safe and natural one, and ought to be relied on [*"till it fails"* crossed out] Should it prove inadequate, I see no other remedy, but in the sovereignty of the State. That they have adequate power, when all other fails

¹The *Southern Review* was the first of the South's magazines. It was established in Charleston in 1828 and continued to exist for about seven years. It was a direct forerunner of the *Southern Literary Messenger*.

to apply Constitutionally an efficient remedy I do not doubt. The Virginia Report and resolutions in '98 are conclusive on that point.

With sincere regard, I am etc., etc.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

Hon. B. Yancey.



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